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F. A. Carolle

TRAVELS

THROUGH

GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, ITALY,

AND

SICILY.

Gilbert Sinclair.
Trinc.

TRAVELS

THROUGH
F. A. Carolle.

GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, ITALY, and SICILY.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

OF

FREDERIC LEOPOLD COUNT STOLBERG,

BY THOMAS HOLCROFT.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Τὰ καλὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς. PLATO.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

HE who has written, or he who has but tranſlated, a book finds a ſtrong impulſe, if he knew how, to convey to the reader the conceptions he has entertained of himſelf during his progreſs, the labour he has ſuſtained, the acumen he has diſplayed, and the difficulties he has overcome. But of what import is it, to the reader, though he may have turned over a thouſand volumes a thouſand times; to detect, to elucidate, or to eſcape error? And, if ten thouſand of theſe errors have been thus eſcaped, ſhould any remain, he is ſtill account-

able: he is ſtill interrogated on his ignorance; and aſked why he did not turn over more books, and take care to be better informed? A man unuſed to the rigorous diſcipline will be impatient under it: he, who is become a veteran in this juſt and neceſſary ſufferance, will allow it to be both inevitable and wholeſome: wholeſome to himſelf, more wholeſome ſtill to others; and, reflecting that error is unlimited, and that mortal labour muſt have its boundary, will ſmile inſtead of being angry at that which he has the preſence of mind to recollect is not wholly to be avoided. He will take pleaſure in finding that his ſmall circle was not the circumference of knowledge; and will acquire increaſing vigour at every perceptible increaſe of the luminous and beneficent horizon of truth.

Egotiſm however is as conſpicuous in extreme ſilence as in extreme loquacity. Juſtice is the due of every man; and he who

who ſhould forbear to demand his due, or he who ſhould demand it with violence, anger, and irritability, would alike be immoral.

The Writer of the following Letters has in this work proved himſelf to be a man of taſte, of learning, and of obſervation: a connoiſſeur, a critic, a poet, and, as ſuch rare qualities imply, intimately acquainted with men and manners. But no man can be deeply ſkilled in and equally well informed upon all topics; and a traveller, if a man of obſervation, will be induced to record facts on ſubjects of which he is either wholly ignorant or in part. His range of remark may lead him through every ſcience, every art, and every age. Of this claſs of travellers is Count Stolberg; and, in following his erratic and devious path, which he has ſometimes rather traced with ſlight touches than marked with a deep and daring ſtroke, the Tranſ-

lator has not unfrequently found himſelf in a labyrinth: from which to extricate himſelf, and never loſe ſight of his author, was a taſk of difficulty and addreſs. Technical terms not known to the dictionaries, words coined with a kind of poetical licence by the Count, himſelf a poet and that way inclined, and ſcientific facts, of which ſometimes the Author and ſometimes the Tranſlator had but an imperfect knowledge, aided to form this labyrinth, and increaſe theſe difficulties. Add the complex conſtruction, indefinite grammar, licentious orthography, and perplexed idiom, of the German language; increaſed by that habit, to which all writers are addicted, of imagining that no man can be ignorant of ſubjects which are exceedingly familiar to themſelves, and that therefore it is more maſterly to hint at than to deſcribe them; and the occaſional dilemmas of the Tranſlator may be in good part con-

ceived. He is much more anxious to diſcover and to avow his own miſtakes than to defend them; and rather willing to court criticiſm, for the inſtruction of others, than to ſhrink from it, that he may indulge the ſelf-love of cowardice, deceit, and imbecility.

To ſpeak of his Author, in adequate terms, and in no degree to conceal his own opinion, he muſt perhaps appear paradoxical. That the book contains information which may well gratify the man of indolence, the man of the world, and the man of reſearch, the painter, the poet, the politician, and the philoſopher, him who loves to be amuſed, and him who is anxious to be informed, there are few readers who will be diſpoſed to deny. One thing, however, cannot be concealed: all men's ſentiments, more or leſs, are at war with each other; and thoſe of Count Stolberg are ſo in a certain degree. But, to his honour be it

ſpoken, however his opinions may at this moment war with the hopes of perſons who pant after a new order of things, and at the next with the fears of men who are enthuſiaſtic admirers of the old, his intentions are evidently thoſe of a benevolent man; and among the many paſſages which the Tranſlator, though neceſſarily unnoticed as ſuch, conſidered as the reſult of prejudice and error, he ſcarcely found one in which the generous writer did not glow with the zeal of a pertinacious and ardent lover of mankind.

Of the propenſities of which the heart of the Tranſlator could not forbear to accuſe his Author, national prejudices, in favour of Germany and in hoſtility to France, evidently ſtrengthened by the war that while he wrote was raging between thoſe countries, were the moſt frequent. The ambition and turbulence of individuals, the crimes they have been induced

induced to commit, and the maſſacres of which they have been the authors, deſerve every cenſure that a juſt and a feeling yet a diſpaſſionate morality can beſtow. But it is a well known maxim, of which the Count has frequently reminded us, that individuals are not a nation. In eſtimating the worth of nations, juſtice requires that, while their vices are put into one ſcale, their virtues ſhould as conſcientiouſly be poiſed in the other. Individuals and nations are equally ſtung with a ſenſe of wrong, when their crimes are acrimoniouſly recapitulated, and their great and good actions are all forgotten. This fatal forgetfulneſs is the origin of that rancour which has ſo long deſolated the earth. It diſtracts private families, confounds public principles, and turns even patriotiſm itſelf into poiſon. Let thoſe, who have but the ſmalleſt love for the happineſs of mankind, beware how they indulge this pernicious

propenſity. He, who in every man wiſhes to meet a brother, will very rarely encounter an enemy.

Theſe obſervations are made by the Tranſlator in juſtice to himſelf, in more anxious juſtice to truth, and in the perſuaſion that they will neither injure the morals nor offend the principles of any reader. In every ſtructure raiſed by man, however much there may be to approve, there will always be ſomething to queſtion, and ſomething to amend.

He, who would never read, never recommend, or never tranſlate, a book which ſhould contain opinions contrary to his own, muſt forſwear the ſociety of books. He can only write ſuch himſelf; and, if he be an impartial enquirer after truth, twelve months after they are written, they will, in his own opinion, partake more or leſs of the faults of other books. The preciſe limits of truth, like

thoſe

thoſe of time and meaſure, never can be aſcertained: yet they may be continually approached; and the road of approach is the broad, open, unimpeded road of enquiry. Let the Count ſpeak for himſelf. In the progreſs of reſearch there muſt be conflict: but there needs not be acrimony.

Moſt authors have their poetry and their proſe; their matter of fact remarks and their flights of imagery, feeling, and fancy. Matter of fact is a rigid taſk-maſter, that will not allow his ſlaves to turn or even to look to the right or to the left. Obedience to him muſt be implicit; and deviation, except from the blind, is unpardonable. Imagination however holds a looſer rein: her track is aërial; and, though dazzling, cloſes inſtantly upon the view. To trace her capricious courſe in an exact line is impoſſible; and thoſe who tranſlate poetry muſt not pore over the words of the author,

thor, but imbibe his feelings, animate themſelves with the ſame fires, and ſoar on the ſame daring wing. The ſenſations may be ſimilar, may have a reſemblance, but the language will have none: or the ſenſations themſelves may be unlike, and yet their quantity may be much the ſame. If the tranſlator ſhould happen to increaſe that quantity, the critic who ſhall pronounce him guilty, for this deviation, is either no poet or has forgotten his office.

Much of the deſcriptive ſcenery in the following work is matter of fact, and much is matter of feeling; and the Tranſlator has been hardy enough to conſider in the latter caſe how the Count would have expreſſed himſelf in Engliſh, rather than how he has expreſſed himſelf in German? has enquired, how did the Author while he wrote this feel, rather than what is it that he has literally ſaid? Metaphors, by uſe, have been rendered

if not beautiful not offenſive, in one language, which in another would excite ridicule, if not contempt; and he who ſhould tranſlate his author literally would frequently inſult both his author and his reader.

There are four poems inſerted in the German, three of which are tranſlated: the fourth is omitted becauſe it is long, has no relation, except that of imagery and feeling, to the work, and is beſide, in the Tranſlator's opinion, incapable of inſpiring an Engliſh reader with that high delight which is indiſpenſably the province of true poetry: unleſs it were to be ſo greatly changed as to be rather an original poem than a tranſlation. Liberties almoſt equal to this have been taken with the poems that are tranſlated; for which, if blame be due, let it be duly diſtributed.

The diſappointment that is often experienced by readers, when they meet with quota-

quotations in a language which they do not underſtand, induced the Count judiciouſly to add tranſlations to ſuch paſſages: ſometimes by himſelf, but more frequently by the beſt tranſlators of the ancients into the German language. The Engliſh Tranſlator has rigorouſly adhered to this rule; and has choſen thoſe tranſlators, of the claſſics, who have at preſent the moſt reputation. Of theſe he thinks it his duty to ſay that, though perhaps Francis, the tranſlator of Horace, be the moſt literal, he is the leaſt ſatisfactory. Horace is univerſally admired, by all who read and delight in the works of the ancients: while thoſe, who are ignorant of the language in which he wrote, are particularly aſtoniſhed at the high praiſe beſtowed on the Roman poet, when they read him diſguiſed in the garb of any Engliſh tranſlation that has hitherto been made: ſome very few ſelect pieces, by Dryden and others, excepted.

A truly

A truly poetical tranſlation of Horace has long been an urgent deſideratum in Engliſh literature. May the arduous taſk be ſoon accompliſhed.

The original Work has neither Tables of Contents nor references of any kind. The utility as well as the amuſement and pleaſure which judicious and copious Indexes afford are well known to every man who delights in reading or has occaſion to conſult books. Were the Tranſlator to detail the trouble and time that have been devoted to the Index for this Work, he might appear oſtentatious on things which in general are either overlooked, or conſidered as trifles. Much of the merit of theſe Travels conſiſts in the maſs of miſcellaneous facts they contain. An Index that ſhould point out theſe facts, individually and collectively, to the farmer, the philoſopher, the antiquarian, the artiſt, the connoiſſeur, and the botaniſt; to him who delights in the

grandeur

grandeur of nature, her inexplicable phenomena and her ſublime aſpects, and him who enquires into the revolutions of morals, manners, cities, and ſtates; and that ſhall claſs theſe ſubjects in ſuch a manner as that the Reader may find with facility whatever relates to each; ſuch an Index, no doubt, would be highly valuable to every man of enquiry, and afford no ſmall ſatisfaction to the perſon who reads only for amuſement. This is the kind of Index that has been attempted. The numerous references which are given to particular articles, ſuch as PLANTS, PICTURES, PROSPECTS, proper names, and every other word that ſuggeſted itſelf as a general head, while they have coſt a degree of labour that will not eaſily be imagined, will enable any perſon, either for his profit or his pleaſure, to collect the facts that are contained in the Work; and thus aid him in forming a whole of each. This is the moſt

moſt deſirable end that the labours of man can attain. It is not merely a knowledge of facts, but it is that knowledge combined with their arrangement, which conſtitutes wiſdom.

Such are the few remarks, which the Tranſlator has thought it his duty to make, concerning a work that has obliged him to exert a minute degree of attention, a ſuſpicious unremitting watchfulneſs, and labour accompanied by anxiety greater than it is his intention ever again to encounter, in a work where neither the thoughts, the manner, nor the materials, are his own.

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A MAP OF
ITALY,
after
BRIO,
Laid down on a smaller Scale
by F. D. SOTZMAN.

Common Italian Miles 60 to a Degree.

British Statute Miles 69½ to a Degree.

SWITZERLAND

GERMANY

FRANCE

PROVENCE

GULF OF LYONS

GULF OF VENICE OR ADRIATIC SEA

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

ALGIERS

STATES OF BARBARY

TUNIS

SARDINIA

CORSICA

SICILY

PIEDMONT

REPUBLIC OF VENICE

TUSCANY

PARMA

PIACENZA

MODENA

BOLOGNA

ROMAGNA

UMBRIA

MARCA

ABRUZZO CITRA

MOLISE

TERRA DI LAVORO

ABRUZZO ULTRA

CAPITANATA

TERRA DI BARI

CALABRIA ULTRA

CALABRIA CITRA

VAL DI DEMONA

VAL DI MAZZARA

VAL DI NOTO

Lipari Isles

Minorca

Lausanne

Laubach

Trieste

Venice

Genoa

Nice

Avignon

Marseilles

Toulon

Leghorn

Civita Vecchia

Rome

Naples

Gaeta

Ischia

Salerno

Gallipoli

Otranto

Ancona

Palermo

Syracuse

Tunis

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TRAVELS

OF

COUNT STOLBERG.

LETTER I.

Pempelfort near Düſſeldorf, July 16th 1791.

I MUST confeſs to you that the Rhine produces here a deeper impreſſion on me, than the Elbe did at Hamburgh; although the banks of the former are not very beautiful, and the breadth, if my eye does not deceive me, not much more than five hundred paces; whereas the Elbe is about a mile wide*. I ſhould imagine you are of opinion, with me, that, to the deep thinker, the character of magnitude is often very very different from that of the ſublime. The exceſs of magnitude

* A German mile contains from ſix to eight Engliſh miles. T.

overpowers, and weakens. My eye is apt to wander, among the hanging woods of the ſea beach; and my mind to loſe itſelf in the boundleſs expanſe of ocean. Where the horizon limits the proſpect, fancy burſts the aerial barrier. The idea of infinitude always riſes on the benevolent wing of eternal exiſtence. How would energy ſink, were it bounded by what it can only ſee!

My ſenſations are wholly different, when, from the northern ſhores of Zealand, I ſurvey the North ſea; to what they are when, from the eaſtern, I contemplate the Baltic. The latter, it is true, communicates with the ocean; and yet the thought does not ſatisfy the ſoul. When imagination has ſpread her ſails, ſhe is offended at the impediments ſhe meets with in the Sound. A ſea is a very different thing from a river. Beginning at its ſource, we trace the ſtream to the ocean; the eye willingly repoſing on its verdant banks. Too great width affords no equivalent for this pleaſure. We delight in tracing the progreſs of power. Homer gave his heroes ſupernatural force in a human form. It was eaſy to produce a Titan: Genius alone could create an Achilles.

We were not however inſenſible to the beauties

beauties of the Elbe, when, the wind favouring us, I and my wife, with our eldeſt boy of eight years old and Nicolovius, ſailed, in an hour, from Altona to Haarburgh: having firſt taken leave of Klopſtock in his garden near Hamburg, where he has reſided ſeveral ſummers, and bidden adieu to my brother, to his wife, to Windéme, and to her daughters. Claudius was our eſcort. Of Weſtphalia and Lower Saxony there is not much to remark. Many thanks are due to the regency of Hanover, for the culture beſtowed upon theſe deſerts. In the parts under this government, we ſaw the half barren waſte covered with beautiful fields of rye, good potatoe grounds, nay even wheat, peas, and barley; where the indolence of the inhabitants would ſcarcely have produced rye and buck wheat.

Near Bomte, where the Oſnabrug domains begin, the proſpect brightens. Between the towns of Bomte and Oſnabrug, we ſaw the majeſtic oak; which has continued to be the ſubject of aſtoniſhment for centuries.

On the 6th, we remained at Oſnabrug, and gladly ſpent the forenoon with the juſt thinking Kleuker; and the evening with the noble

minded patriot and philoſopher Möſer. The next day we proceeded to Münſter. We were intending to viſit the Princeſs Gallitzin when her meſſage of invitation arrived. With her we found the Baron of Fürſtenberg. Germany acknowledges the merit of this great ſtateſman. The Biſhopric of Münſter honours and loves the wiſe and good man, as a father. He ſecured the rights of the Peaſantry, inſpired the Monks with induſtry and patriotiſm, gave order to the war department, awakened a general thirſt of knowledge, and with unwearied perſeverance laboured to gratify the noble craving. Yes; it was he that promoted the pure and benevolent love of ſcience, through the ſchools and ſeminaries; from the higheſt to the loweſt degree.

It is now ſeveral years ſince this worthy and enlightened Canon was Prime Miniſter; and perhaps his influence will act with greater freedom and more dignified effect on the public, now that its only ſupport is its proper worth.

The Princeſs Gallitzin intends to publiſh the works of the wiſe Hemſterhuys. As, when he lived, he ſent his writings to his

Diotima

Diotima* to correct, ſo, at his death, in a manner honourable to them both, he left his poſthumous works entirely to her diſcretion.

We remained two days and a half with the Princeſs; and there became acquainted with Profeſſor Overberg: a worthy eccleſiaſtic, whoſe wiſdom and benevolence are actuated by all the glow of an energetic mind. He is one of the head maſters of the upper ſchools; and, from pure kindneſs, weekly dedicates a part of the forenoon to the inſtruction of young girls. I ſhall never forget the pleaſure with which I ſaw him catechiſe ſome hundreds of them, the animated intelligence of his manner, the addreſs with which he fixed their attention, and the acuteneſs he diſcovered in putting the queſtion ſo as to ſuggeſt the anſwer.

Haman lies buried in the garden of the Princeſs. Urns and inſcriptions characterize the calm deep thinker; whoſe imagination roſe, on the ſoaring pinions of poetry, far beyond the ken of common eyes; and ſometimes was followed with difficulty by the keeneſt ſight.

* In ſome of his writings he calls the Princeſs his Diotima. Diotima was ſaid to have been inſpired by the Gods: in Plato's Banquet, Socrates aſcribes high wiſdom to her, and profeſſes to have learnt it from her.

How muſt the Princeſs have ſympathiſed with a heart and ſoul like his! Equally ſimple in manners, pure in mind, and holy in friendſhip, they raiſed both the ſagacious proteſtant and the zealous catholic above the narrow prejudices of their reſpective creeds.

The catholic clergy wiſhed to have his honoured remains interred in conſecrated ground: but from reſpect they yielded to the deſire of the Princeſs, in conſideration of the undiſguiſed and enlightened readineſs ſhe had ſhewn to pay the laſt honours to this wiſe and worthy man.

We left Münſter early on the 10th, with feelings ſuch as none but the good could excite. The following morning we arrived at Mühlheim, on the Ruhr. Here, for the firſt time, during a journey of two-and-forty miles, we had a truly beautiful proſpect. On each ſide of the valley, through which the meandering Ruhr purſues its courſe, we ſaw the bold projecting rocks, clothed with hanging woods: beyond them the mountains roſe, covered with foreſts, and interſperſed with plains of different elevations, all bedecked with rich and variegated fertility. A heavy ſhower of rain, which poured from the lowring clouds,

did but increaſe the beauty of the proſpect; gilded as it ſoon was by the full radiance of the returning ſun.

We arrived at Pempelfort at two in the afternoon; and I felt myſelf immediately as if at home, in the houſe of our dear Jacobi; whom I now ſaw for the firſt time. In expectation of hearing from you with your uſual punctuality, I ſhall conclude; wiſhing you all happineſs and patience.

LETTER II.

Pempelfort, July 19th 1791.

WE have been once at Düſſeldorf, and have viſited the famous Picture Gallery. You know I am not a Connoiſſeur. I cannot admire a picture that ſpeaks to the eye only, and not to the heart. The moſt inimitable deceptions, whether of painting or of poetry, if they place no living image before me, to me are equally unintereſting. I may indeed be aſtoniſhed, at the talent I diſcover, or rather at my own inſenſibility: for ſuch imitations, in my opinion, are merely talent;

and are not the offspring of Genius: the character of which is paſſion, and invention.

The Diogenes, ſeeking an honeſt man in the thronged market place with a lantern at noon day, diſplays great invention. Rubens has given the face of the philoſopher the expreſſion of bitter but half concealed irony. The crowd, different in ſex and age, cannot conceive his meaning, and laugh at his folly.

The malicious painter has introduced his own wife; yet certainly he did not mean ſeriouſly to characterize her as a fool. What various marks of folly has he communicated to the multitude! How perfectly does the philoſopher appear the only man among them! The very ſpirit of Diogenes ſeems to have inſpired the painter. He had certainly retired within himſelf, and, deep in contemplation, had ſtudied each countenance, before his magic pencil could ſo truly delineate this ample heritage of full grown folly. His action is neceſſarily confined to the moment; yet he artfully leads the fancy through many ſucceſſive generations.

Oh Rubens, hadſt thou been preſent when Diderot, ſtanding to view the picture, imagined himſelf the hero, and exclaimed to his guide,

C'eſt

C'eſt Diderot en Hollande * *!* thou wouldſt have immortalized the ſelf ſufficient mien of the man on thy canvas! Diogenes would not have put out his lantern in his preſence; but probably would have aſſumed an air of more keen and bitter ſatire.

Had Rubens read Milton's Paradiſe Loſt, the painter would have ſoared beyond himſelf on the wings of the poet, would have added dignity to his fallen angels, and would more emphatically have imparted to them their inherent malignity. The victorious angel, in purſuit of Satan as he deſcends, bearing the flaming ſword and inveſted with the power of the Almighty, is not unworthy the Michael of Milton. The poet perhaps would have been ſatisfied with many of the fallen ſpirits; and would have certainly done juſtice to the genius of the painter. Either I miſtake, however, or many parts of this picture are degraded by the image of vice under its groſſeſt forms. Rubens perhaps intended to ſhew that, the virtue of heaven being gone, its dignity had likewiſe diſappeared: but Satan could not deſcend to ſuch vulgar buffoonery; nei-

* 'Tis Diderot in Holland.

ther

ther could he ſo immediately loſe all expreſſion of heavenly grandeur. Still the picture will ever remain the work of a great genius. Sir Joſhua Reynolds tore himſelf from it with regret; and exclaimed, "Other pictures are excellently painted: here alone colours are made to ſpeak."

The moſt famous picture in this great collection is the St. John in the wilderneſs: by ſome aſcribed to Raphael; by others to Andrea Sarpi. The noble figure of the youth, above cenſure, or rather inimitably beautiful and dignified, irreſiſtibly attracts and fixes the attention: and, when at laſt you have left it, you are again and again brought back. Is it depth of thought, or, is it not rather the victory gained over temptation, which theſe lines of noble and manly beauty with ſo flowing yet ſo firm a touch denote? He ſeems to bloom in the very ſpring tide of youth; yet bears the promiſed fruits of manhood. He is what Æſchylus has ſo finely deſcribed one of his heroes to be, ἀνδροπαις ἀνηρ *.

I have uſed the phraſe "above cenſure;" but it is ſaid there is falſe drawing, in the foreſhortening of one of the legs. I ſhall ven-

* A boy-man.

ture

ture a criticiſm of another kind. Should we recognize with certainty the great harbinger of Chriſt, if the croſs, his common ſymbol, were not lying by his ſide?

The hiſtory of this painting is ſingular. One of the keepers of the gallery was retouching a damaged Landſcape, in water colours, which was not without merit. That which he had ſuppoſed to be mere canvas he diſcovered to be coated with oil-colours. Curioſity induced him to proceed; and a moſt beautiful body began to be viſible. He ſaw the hand of a maſter, waſhed away the water colours, and reſtored in full perfection the great work, that had ſo long remained buried in darkneſs.

The Aſſumption of the Virgin, by Guido, is one of the greateſt ornaments of the gallery. Devotion, rapture, divine benignity, inſpire and dignify the matron; and, in all their luſtre, ſeem to bear her to her native heaven, which opens for her reception.

I did not ſee the holy family of Raphael: it was not in the gallery, but was ſent to be engraved.

Rubens had certainly read Dante with great attention. The noble and inventive genius of the poet inſpired him, when he painted

painted his Day of Judgment. Yet he is unequal to Dante, in picturing both the good and evil ſpirits. The rage of the one, and the rapture of the other, are more exquiſitely deſcribed by the Florentine. The figure of the Judge of the world is beneath criticiſm. The figure of the ſaint in the foreground is noble: but, Oh! how many thanks are due to the painter, for the chearful countenance he has beſtowed on the riſing negro? The idea of ſkeletons half clothed with fleſh, and ſtruggling into exiſtence, is worthy of Dante or Milton. They are well contraſted with the already riſen; and appear like the ſappy buds of the aſh in Spring, ſwelling into life. Yet I could have wiſhed for more variety; and to have ſeen the half formed creatures, as, in Milton, the angel deſcribes the animals at the moment of creation:

> The graſſy clods now calved; now half appeared
> The tawny lion, pawing to get free
> His hinder parts; then ſprings as broke from bonds,
> And rampant ſhakes his brinded mane *.

Not only the falling deception of the burning lamps, and the glimmering matches on the

* Par. L. Book VII. line 463.

ground,

ground, but the animated characters of the wife and foolifh virgins, by Schalken, rank this picture among the beft in the gallery.

The Adoration of the Shepherds, by Rubens, is very fine. On one fide, in the clouds, an angel is feen, with his hands folded on his breaft; an angel fuch as Raphael might have painted.

The Mary of Medicis, by Rubens, drew our attention; from the great refemblance it bears to our friend Mrs. ———. In thefe noble, ardent, gentle, poetical traits, the phyfiognomift would difcover the rank which a Mary de Medicis would hold in fociety.

Chrift among the Doctors in the temple, by Vander Werf, appears to me as worthy of the fubject as a picture can be. I was not very fond of this mafter, who to me appeared to have a littlenefs of manner; but this picture has given me a higher opinion of his genius. Youth, beauty, benignity, grace, and wifdom, beam in the godlike boy. Sages, fuch as you might imagine Gamaliel and Nicodemus to have been, are liftening to his difcourfe.

No collection contains fo many of the works of Rubens as this: but I am told his beft

beſt productions are to be found in the towns of Brabant. The gallery is poor in pictures by the Italian maſters; and not to be compared with that of Dreſden. It is likewiſe deficient in Landſcapes.

The Düſſeldorf academy is furniſhed with many excellent caſts, from antique ſtatues. It is likewiſe rich in engravings: and, were it not, the numerous drawings, by Raphael, which it poſſeſſes, give it a value which few collections can equal. Some are the light ſports of his fine and inexhauſtible fancy: others are only ſketches; but they are the ſketches of a creative mind. And have not theſe flights of tranſcendent genius, which never were meant for the vulgar eye that could not comprehend them, that were intended only for himſelf, for his own enjoyment, have they not a character of unreſtrained daring, and unexampled beauty, peculiar to themſelves? I ſee them ſtill, theſe lines that ſo ſublimely trace the heads of angels! What amplitude! What purity! What forms of flowing ſtreaming life! The means too ſo limited, ſo imperceptible; we dare not add ſo indigent, ſtruck as we are with aſtoniſhment at beholding their effects.

Yes;

Yes; we look with joy as well as wonder, and praiſe God for the power he has given to man.

LETTER III.

Pempelfort, July 1791.

A TIMBER float having been announced, we went yeſterday in the afternoon to Düſſeldorf to ſee it: for which purpoſe, we hired a boat; and rowed up the Rhine. The ſpray of the oars was ſeen from far; and we preſently diſcovered a ſwimming village: for ſuch is the appearance of the wooden huts, that are built on the float.

There are four floats that go, every ſummer, from Andernach to Holland. Each is about a thouſand feet long; and a hundred and thirty wide. The number of the floatmen is four hundred and fifty. The rapidity of the ſtream, and the bulk and unwieldineſs of the float, make the navigation dangerous. The paſſage, if good, will be from ſix to ſeven days: but, if the water be low and the wind violent and adverſe, it may be as many weeks.

Several

Several anchors are carried, and the float lies at anchor every night. In the evening, the anchors are taken into the boats and brought to the ſhore. The ſtrong motion of the float drags them, at firſt: but this motion ſlackens, and the float at laſt becomes ſtationary.

The worth of the wood, of which the float is compoſed, is eſtimated at five hundred thouſand florins. The toll it pays is heavy. At Düſſeldorf it amounts to a hundred and ſixteen piſtoles: at Kaiſerſwerth, which is likewiſe a town palatine, eighty piſtoles: and the Pruſſian tolls are ſtill more ſevere.

The daily maintenance of the floatmen is eſtimated at upward of a hundred rix dollars. The pay of each man, for the whole voyage, is only five rix dollars. Having arrived at their place of deſtination, they form themſelves into parties, of ſeven each, club their pay, and then ſhoot for the whole; and the loſers are obliged to beg their way home.

The good cheer of the floatmen, during the voyage, delights and well repays them for their hard labour. We ſaw fat oxen on the float; and were informed that one was ſlaughtered daily. The cabin of the maſter is as ſpacious

as

as that of the captain of an eighty gun ſhip. The wood of the float is chiefly for the uſe of flooring and carpenters.

LETTER IV.

Pempelfort, 29th July 1791.

YESTERDAY week, we were very agreeably ſurpriſed, by a viſit from the Princeſs Gallitzin, her two children, the Baron of Fürſtenberg, and Profeſſor Overberg. Theſe noble friends remained with us three days: three memorable days.

After their departure, Jacobi took us, on a party of pleaſure, to Elberfelde.

This town lies in a ſmall valley, on the Wupper: one of the innumerable tributary nymphs that pour their waters into the capacious Rhine. The peculiar quality of this ſtream maintains four populous towns: the principal trade of which is bleaching. The valley is about two leagues long; and the high hills, on each ſide, are covered with the beech and the aſh, and ſkirted with corn fields, mea-

dows, paſtures, and gardens, in various and rich fertility.

The four towns, which the Wupper waters, are Rittershauſen, Wupperfelde, Gemark (or Barmen), and Elberfelde: which laſt is the moſt diſtant. Barmen is a colony of Elberfelde: of which it is the rival, both in induſtry and proſperity. Theſe properties are conſpicuous, in the handſome houſes and gardens, and in the countenances of the natives; who are remarkable for the cheerfulneſs and rectitude of their manners.

The whole appearance of this valley delights the eye, and makes a deep and laſting impreſſion upon the heart. Its various buildings, its ſwarming inhabitants, its meandering ſtream, now deep and ſilent, now rapid and ſhallow, its bold projecting rocks, hollow beneath, and loaded above with thick woods that ſhade the horizon, the honeſt, proſperous, and happy appearance of its people, ſome dwelling in neat towns, others in ſcattered houſes that ornament the vicinity, theſe objects, individually and collectively, give unſpeakable pleaſure. They reminded me of the environs of Erzgebürg: with its lofty mountains,

crowned

crowned with pines and watered with numerous rivulets: with this difference, that, at Erzgebürg, the traveller was aſtoniſhed at the induſtry of art, which at laſt afforded the inhabitants only a ſcanty ſubſiſtence; while here abundance every where reigns.

The following day, we ſaw, in a narrow valley, one of the grand ſpectacles of nature. On our return from Elberfelde, we went to Metman; a town which is four leagues diſtant from Pempelfort. Paſſing through corn fields that had been reaped, we entered a Beech wood, and ſuddenly beheld an uncommonly wild maſs of rocks, that fixed our attention. Proceeding through a wide opening, we went into a cavern; into which light had two entrances, that were unperceived by us. We ſuddenly came to a deep precipice, with high rocks in our front; and they, like the cavity in which we ſtood, were loaded with trees, their ſides adorned with ſhrubs and ivy, and at their feet the rapid Düſſel flowed.

This cavern is called the Leuchtenburg.

We returned through a narrow paſſage, which brought us to a projecting cliff; where, that we might the better look into the abyſs beneath, we laid ourſelves down, and each

held the other in turn. This cliff, which is called Rabenſtein, or Ravenſtone, appeared to me not leſs beautiful than Rostrappe, at Harz, in our own dear country. From this, we paſſed into a ſmall grotto; called the Engelskammer, or Angel's chamber; and ſaw a black gulph, on the other ſide, which people have named the Teufelskammer; or Devil's chamber.

Half a league from this, there is a Monaſtery, of the rigorous order of La Trappe; of which there was only one in Germany, one in France, and one in Italy, founded. The monks of this order renounce the uſe of ſpeech: the prelate only, under certain reſtrictions, is allowed to infringe this rule. Some years ago, a Princeſs viſited this monaſtery; and, after many entreaties, prevailed on the prelate to indulge two of the monks, for a moment, in the uſe of ſpeech: but they both gave her to underſtand, by ſigns, that they did not think themſelves authorized to break their eternal ſilence.

Jacobi, one evening, took me and Nicolovius to this monaſtery. The door keeper, a lay brother, left us in the garden; telling us that the monks had retired to reſt: however, we

met

met one of them; who, by the motion of his lips, was muttering his prayers. At laſt, the prelate appeared: but he ſhewed no inclination to admit us into the monaſtery. The government has appointed a ſpiritual commiſſion, to reform the rules of the monaſtery. The veil of ſecrecy guards their proceedings. It is not, however, probable that they will raze the monaſtery: they would not for ſuch a purpoſe have appointed a ſpiritual commiſſion.

I have yet ſaid nothing of Pempelfort; which is ſeparated, by a ſpacious Electoral garden, from the town of Düſſeldorf. Jacobi's houſe is roomy, and well contrived: built for the convenience of a ſage, who wiſhes neither to be incommoded by want of ſpace, nor incumbered by magnificence. He has laid out his beautiful garden in the Engliſh manner; but with a degree of taſte peculiar to himſelf. Trees, ſome ſingle, others in cluſters, ornament the green lawn; through which the Düſſel meanders, and forms a caſcade. High palm trees, a row of elms, a lake encircled with the weeping willow, many of the exotics which can endure our climate, and a charming orange grove, exhaling its ſweets under the

windows of the houſe, give this garden a delightful variety.

Here, in ſocial friendſhip, the heart of the deep thinking owner expands. Here he meditated, here, under trees of his own planting, he occaſionally wrote, his Woldemar, and his Allwill; obedient to the friendly dictates of the muſe. Here he lived happy with his Eliza; and here he wept her loſs. Her pure her heavenly ſpirit (Oh! who can doubt it?) hovers round him; and inſpires his charming ſiſters, whoſe hearts and underſtandings are a ſource of conſolation to him; and whoſe ſociety he finds ſo delightful, ſo indiſpenſible. Here too his brother, breathing the inſpirations of the feeling muſe, wrote ſome of his moſt excellent poems.

To-morrow we depart from a place, where, inſtead of a week, as we had intended, we have remained nineteen days. But we ſhall not leave all the inhabitants of Pempelfort behind us: at our entreaty, Jacobi permits his ſon to accompany us; and the pleaſure of our journey will not be leſſened by his ſociety.

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LETTER V.

Frankfort on the Main, Auguſt 7th 1791.

WE had only a ſhort half day's journey from Pempelfort to Cologne; our road lying through a fruitful and well cultivated diſtrict. The Duchy of Berg appears to me to owe its proſperity to the conſtitution it enjoys, under the government of the Elector of Bavaria, and to the induſtry of its inhabitants, more than even to the goodneſs of its ſoil; which, from excellent cultivation, is ſo productive. That land muſt be light, which one horſe can plough. The horſes and cattle in this country are large and well fed.

Near Mühlheim, on the Rhine, we viſited the grave of the worthy Thomas Wiggenmann. He died young, in the arms of his dear friends; and Jacobi has written a beautiful epitaph to his memory, which memory will remain ſacred as long as his excellent work, on the goſpel of Saint Matthew, ſhall be read; a work calculated to calm the doubts of many worthy ſceptics. Death prevented him from

completing his labour. His abſtract of the philoſophy of Mendelſohn and Jacobi has characterized him, as a clear and deep thinker.

At Mühlheim, we croſſed the Rhine; and ſoon arrived at Cologne. This ancient and free imperial city is built in the old ſtyle; with high houſes, and narrow ſtreets.

The Gothic Cathedral is beautiful, in its kind; and would have been one of the largeſt in Europe, had the immenſe work, which was interrupted before finiſhed, been completed. Its grandeur is ſtill conſiderable; and the unfiniſhed part gives a pictureſque appearance of Gothic ruins.

We ſaw a noble picture, by Rubens, of Peter on the croſs, in Saint Peter's Church; which the painter preſented to his native city.

You know the ſtory of this apoſtle wiſhing, from humility, to be crucified with his head downward. This gave the great painter an opportunity of diſplaying his genius in what may be called the terribly beautiful. The blood, hurried toward the head, diſtends the veins; and, as the body is not outſtretched, it is bent, and foreſhortened; in the executing of which Rubens has diſplayed his whole power,

power. The mouth of the ſufferer opens in ſuch agony, and with ſo much truth, that it has a wonderful appearance of reality. Various executioners are employed around him: one of whom, with a fiend-like ferocity, is driving a nail through his foot; while a Roman ſoldier holds him faſt, with a placid diligence. The ſoldier's countenance would beſpeak our favour, were it not for the calm manner with which he attends to his horrible office. None but a Roman ſoldier could have hardened his countenance to ſuch an iron ſerenity. We ſeem to me to miſs that animated participation, and heavenly dignity, which ſhould have characterized the hovering angel that holds the palm over the evangelical martyr.

We ſaw a beautiful picture, by Le Brun, in the houſe of the Patrician Jebbach. It repreſents one of his anceſtors, ſurrounded by his family. Attached to each other as they mutually were, the painter left this beautiful mark of his friendſhip. A chamber is ſet apart for the picture; to which ſtrangers are always admitted. A noble ſimplicity dignifies the figures. Le Brun painted with affection; and gave an expreſſion of gentleneſs and family concord to the whole.

Is it true that our anceſtors were leſs diſſipated than we are? Did they poſſeſs a more profound and capacious calm? Or were the painters of thoſe ages ſuperior to other men? From whom did they learn the art of depicting ſo much greatneſs of mind? Their very portraits breathe pure ſerenity. Each painter appears to me to have formed to himſelf ideal beings: for who can be ignorant that theſe very ſilent ſerious and mild characters are animated by the nobleſt paſſions? Do we not find, in the Greek artiſts, the very extremes of depth of thought and ardour of ſoul?

It is the ſame with the ancient poets. The dialogue of the old tragic writers will frequently appear cold, becauſe of its ſimplicity: yet with what real, with what ardent, paſſion do they glow! What a pervading tranquillity! what a benevolent ſimplicity! yet what a ſtreaming fervour, breathe through Homer and Oſſian!

From Cologne to Bonn the road is delightful; but, after we had paſſed the latter, nature aſſumed her higheſt charms.

We now plainly ſaw the ſeven hills; the ſummits of which, on the other ſide of Düſſeldorf, had gradually ſeemed to approach.

The

The fertile plains, through which we paſſed, abound with rich vineyards, and beautiful orchards. Mountains were towering on every ſide. Again our road brought us to the high banks of the noble Rhine; beyond which were ſtill more lofty heights, terminating in the rocky ſummits of the ſeven hills. Now the Rhine was ſhut up between the mountains; and now the valley through which it rolled its waters widened, adorned with corn fields and various fruits; the apple, the pear, the walnut, and the ſpreading vine. The hills on the left ſhores of the Rhine were now clothed with vineyards, and now ſhaded by the beech, the aſh, and the oak. On the oppoſite banks the ripe grape, and the ſportive ivy, variegate the foot of the ſeven hills; the latter winding up their rocky ſides. On ſome of the heights, the ruins of old caſtles are ſeen: in other parts, the daring hand of nature projects the overhanging fearful cliff, that ſeems to brave the ſhock of time. The laſt of the ſeven hills, which is called the *Drachenſtein* (Dragonſtone), appears to be the largeſt.

As we approached the Rhine, it ſeemed to have become conſiderably narrower. We ſuppoſed it to flow over a deep bed of rock; but

but we ſoon perceived that the trees, on the other ſide of this leſſer current, belonged to an iſland; behind which a ſecond iſland roſe out of the water: ſo that the mighty river, divided into three ſtreams, watered and fructified ſix ſhores.

There was a Cloiſter of Nuns, called Nonenwerth, ſituated in the ſecond iſland; in a kind of Elyſian grove. Add to all theſe beauties the pictureſque effect of light and ſhade; that here glimmered, and there ſhed thick night among the valleys: while the hills were illumined by the full glare of day. Add, too, the cheerful aſpect of the inhabitants: young men chaunting their provincial ſongs; and maidens bringing us fruits and flowers, in their clean wicker baſkets: here a habitation reſounding with dancing, and mirth; and there a wooden legged village muſician, thrumming his mandoline, and charming himſelf, and his hearers, with a flouriſhing ſymphony at the concluſion of each ſtanza.

As we approached the ſmall town of Rheinmagen, we met, on a high narrow ſhore at the foot of a ſtill higher hill, a ſolemn proceſſion; in honour of Saint Apollinarius. The prieſt and the holy red banner were followed by the

the crowd, ſinging: boats glided along the ſtream, each bearing its own enſign, and reſounding with the ſame chorus.

We ſmiled, when we were told that theſe good people were on a pilgrimage to the remains of the Saint; interred, as they ſuppoſed, on a neighbouring hill; for, a fortnight before, we had met theſe very remains in a like ſolemn proceſſion at Düſſeldorf. No wonder that theſe two communities ſhould diſpute the honour of poſſeſſing the Saint; when ſo lately two municipalities, in France, would have made ferocious war on each other, for the remains of Voltaire; had not one taken his body, and the other his heart.

The heart of Voltaire!——Oh you who laugh at the ſimplicity of the peaſants of the Rhine, who devoutly chaunt their hymns to the memory of a worthy man! You who ſtrain at a gnat, and ſwallow a camel! You who cannot forgive the fanaticiſm of implicit faith! What ſay you to an aſſembly of legiſlators, that decrees a niche in the new temple of the Gods to the man who, while he lived, wandered from country to country, reſpecting neither the religion nor the manners of any of them! who, in his Candide, ridiculed the providence

vidence of God, and to whom virtue was a jeſt*?

Between Rheinmagen and Andernach, we beheld the majeſtic courſe of the meandering Rhine; till the ſight was loſt, in the impenetrable ſhadows of the valleys that lie between the ſeven hills. Beſide us the clear light of the Sun beamed on large iſlands; bearing corn, orchards, and vineyards. Before us lay the ancient town of Andernach; with its gothic walls, and towers. We might have arrived at Coblentz before dark, had we not wiſhed to travel at our eaſe.

Oh Rhine! He that with precipitate haſte can empty the teeming goblet of nature, is unworthy the wealth of thy ſtream, the fertility of thy ſhores, and the tranſports that thy vineyards afford! Such of old were the Thracians. Barbarians! that knew not to honour

* Men of the beſt hearts and underſtandings are liable to be miſtaken. The author himſelf is here an example. He imagined, while writing the above apoſtrophe, that he wrote in the ſpirit of truth and benevolence. How could a man of ſo much thought be ſo unjuſt to the intentions, or to the virtue, of Voltaire? who, whatever the prejudices of the preſent times may affirm, was one of the moſt devoted, perſevering, and ineſtimable, friends of the human race. T.

gifts like thine; nor to taſte the calm and full dignity of ſuch joys.

As we determined to remain all night at Andernach, we approached the ſhore, took a boat, and were rowed between high hills that were clothed with hanging vineyards. The heat had been great; and the air on the water was refreſhing.

"The hot foot of the hill waſhed by the cooling wave*."

We ſaw white inſects in ſwarms, fluttering in the evening air; and in ſwarms ſaw them end their ſhort lives in the ſtream. We paſſed Neuwied, ſailing between rows of tall poplar. As the wind was againſt us, we were obliged to traverſe the river, from ſhore to ſhore, till we came to Andernach; the proſpect changing every moment, and every moment being enriched by new and innumerable beauties.

In the morning we continued our journey upon the Rhine, about as far as we had ſailed the evening before. We then left it, proceeding along ſpacious roads; and ſhould have regretted its enlivening ſcenery, had we not known that we ſhould ſoon again behold it, in variegated majeſty.

* Klopſtock's Odes.

Half a league from Coblentz, we paſſed the palace of Schönbornluſt; where the fugitive brothers of the King of France then reſided. What is the deſtiny that awaits this good King? who, with the pureſt intentions, and with the general voice, has acquired the moſt honourable title that ever was given to Monarch! that of the reſtorer of freedom!

Coblentz is at preſent full of French emigrants: or rather appears to be full of them; for they crowd the ſtreets in parties, and hurry to and fro; ſome in carriages, ſome on horſeback, and ſome on foot; ſo that their numbers ſeem endleſs. The croſs of Saint Louis is at every button hole. They have bought horſes, practiſe equeſtrian exerciſes, and certainly encourage the expectations of each other with indefatigable induſtry; having formed high hopes of their enterpriſe againſt the National Aſſembly. It is not in the character of the French, as preſent circumſtances demonſtrate, to wait the change of fortune which time might bring. Though light as the cork, they would rather ſtem the ungovernable ſtream than ſtay for the ebbing tide; which might bring them ſafely to ſhore.

When the intolerable heat of the day abated, we

we took a boat; and rowed on the Rhine, to view the town and the Electoral palaces, beautifully built in the Ionic order, on the banks of the river. The delightful capacious Moſelle here empties itſelf, into the more delightful more capacious Rhine. On a rock, on the oppoſite ſide, the old caſtle of Ehrenbreitſtein towers: while higher hills crown the diſtant ſhores and mountains that ſeem to melt away in the horizon.

We continued our journey by the ſide of a ſteep hill; and, looking behind us, contemplated the paradiſe we had paſſed! We beheld the courſe of the Rhine, winding between its high banks. Over theſe heights, we ſaw heights ſtill greater; with fruitful intervening valleys, and thick foreſts. Between the ſhadows which the mountains caſt, we perceived plains that were more ſpacious; and the extent of which increaſed, as they were followed by the eye. They were enlightened by the rays of the evening Sun, and contraſted with the gloom of the narrow valleys, and the ſhady ſide of the mountains.

The ſmall town of Ems, famous for its mineral waters, lies in a deep narrow vale,

that is watered by the Lahn, in the road between Coblentz and Naſſau.

On that ſide of Ems that is next to Coblentz is a fruitful valley, ſhaded by hills and woods; and on the other ſide of it, more lofty trees form a ſpacious walk, on the banks of the Lahn, for the recreation of thoſe who come to take the waters.

Along this river, and between the mountains, lies the road to Naſſau; which is ſituated in a fertile valley, and ſurrounded by rocks. On one of the hills ſtand the very ancient and venerable ruins of the caſtle of Naſſau; from whence that famous houſe derived its title.

On the ſame hill, but lower, are the remains of another caſtle; from which the family of Stein took its name. Theſe old cavaliers, whoſe deſcendants ſtill hold their poſſeſſions, muſt have had a good underſtanding with their mighty neighbour; or muſt have been very alert, and by alliances have ſecured themſelves againſt his power. It is probable that the noble art of plundering was common to them both: but who can ſecure to himſelf a fair diviſion of the booty, in treaties where

where the tiger hunts in company with the lion?

Schwalbach, and Wiſbaden, both celebrated for their mineral waters, are ſeated among theſe mountains; which are interſperſed with fruitful plains. There is a very beautiful proſpect, about a league from Wiſbaden; from which a long courſe of the Rhine, the entire city of Mentz, and the pleaſant iſlands that ſurround it, are ſeen. Mentz is two full leagues from Wiſbaden; and this extenſive view, where we beheld vineyards, corn fields, and large orchards with their branches weighed to the earth with fruit, afforded us great and unfeigned pleaſure.

We entered the ancient and beautiful city of Mentz over a wide bridge of boats. Though ſo much nearer to its ſource, the Rhine is more ſpacious here than at Düſſeldorf. I counted my ſteps over the bridge; and they amounted to ſeven hundred and forty. The palace called *La Favorite*, belonging to the Elector, with its vaſt garden, ſtands on the ſhore where once the old Carthuſian monaſtery ſtood; as well as two nunneries, which have been demoliſhed. The revenues of

theſe foundations are paid to the univerſity; and are dedicated to the uſe of the baniſhed monks and nuns. The Elector purchaſed the deſerted monaſtery from the univerſity; which poſſeſſes about four million of florins; and laid out an ample Engliſh garden: which, from its ſituation between the Rhine and the Main, is poſſeſſed of beauties that none but the hand of nature can beſtow. When the Carthuſians received orders to quit their monaſtery, an old monk died of grief. Theſe orders were given by the firſt Archbiſhop of the German Empire.

At Mentz, we became acquainted with Count Von Stadion: a young canon, who certainly has verified the early expectations that were formed of his talents.

A Chapter that has choſen Dalberg for coadjutor, and which has long been accuſtomed courageouſly to withſtand the influence of the firſt powers of Germany, merits our eſteem; and, as good Patriots, we are led to believe we ſhall not be miſtaken in the hopes to which it has given birth.

One fine evening, we were rowed to the Ingelheimer-Au; which iſland I viſited be-

cauſe of the agreeable hours I had there ſpent, ſixteen years ago, in company with my brother, Göthen, Haugwitzen, and Klinger.

Not ſo far from the town, and oppoſite to the caſtle Biberich, lies another iſland; the Kurfürſten-Au; which, being thickly planted with trees, appeared, as we rowed paſt, to be the moſt beautiful.

We then rowed to the farther end of the Rheinallee; which not long ſince was planted beſide the ſtream. This alley conſiſts of two rows of the linden tree, within; and two rows of poplar, without. Very large trees had been brought hither; which muſt have been tranſplanted with great art; for their beautiful forms ſhewed that the axe had never lopped their branches. The largeſt trees are neareſt to the town.

At the farther end of this alley, which is about half a league long, ſeveral canons have, with great expence and induſtry, cultivated a light ſandy ſoil, and turned it into paſture-land: while they have paſſed by and neglected much better ground. Theſe expences however will be well repaid them, in the ſequel*.

All

* About the end of the year 1792, the French in multi-

All the parts round Mentz, which abound in corn, fruit, and wine, probably are more indebted for theſe productions to the induſtry of the inhabitants, than to the goodneſs of the ſoil; which is light and ſandy.

The parts round Frankfort appear to me to be in the ſame predicament. They are embelliſhed and fructified by the Main, to the beneficent waters of which they are wholly indebted.

A part of Frankfort is well built; eſpecially the principal ſtreet, which is called the Zeile.

The Jews, who are numerous, are confined to live in one ſtreet; which is very long, narrow, and irregular. Their houſes are ſeparated, in back and front, from the reſt of the citizens by a high wall, built far above the firſt floor. Every evening, about ten or eleven o'clock, both ends of this ſtreet are ſhut up; and no Jew, without particular permiſſion, is ſuffered to quit this priſon, during the time of divine ſervice among the Chriſtians.

In former times, theſe perſecuted people endured intolerable hardſhips; which would

titudes overran our frontiers, took Mentz, and laid waſte theſe beautiful ſituations.

now

now be abolished, did not the rich Jews find the assistance of their poor brethren highly useful to them in their trade, and therefore make pressing remonstrances against any change, which would be so beneficial even to themselves.

The Catholics enjoy the free exercise of their religion. The Lutheran magistracy, some years ago, by application to the Emperor Joseph, established places of worship for those of the reformed church *; two of which have been built, for the German and French communities. Before this, they were obliged to perform divine service half a mile out of town.

It was truly afflicting that an imperial city, not possessed of chimerical but of real order, freedom, and equality of justice, should be subject to the reproach of that degree of intolerance which limited the manner in which its kind and good citizens should be permitted to exercise their religion.

* Dissenters from the Lutherans; or Calvinists. T.

LETTER VI.

Karlſruh, Auguſt 11th 1791.

THE ſandineſs of the road, between Frankfort and Darmſtadt, made the heat of the day inſufferable: but we refreſhed ourſelves, on the way, with wine of this year's vintage. Before it is meliorated by time, it is very acid; but this acidity has the good quality of quenching thirſt, more effectually than older and better wine. The growth of the beſt Rheniſh wine is limited to a circle of about four or five miles round Mentz: that noble wine which Klopſtock ſo poetically praiſes.

"Of happy German temperament art thou;
"Warm, but not inflaming; potent, but yet
"Not drowſy; and ſparkling, yet free from froth."

Other kinds of Rheniſh are occaſionally pleaſant, and good: but none of them are equal to this, in the mild and vinous glow which it communicates.

At Darmſtadt, we went, about twilight, to viſit the beautiful Engliſh garden; which particularly

ticularly pleaſed us, by the number of its large trees: eſpecially the poplar.

You have heard of the vaſt Guard-houſe, which is here. We wiſhed to ſee it; but it was ſhut. The builder's art, in erecting the roof without ſupports, has been much praiſed. In the time of the late Landgrave, who was of a chilly habit, this houſe was warmed by ſixteen ſtoves; which were moſt of them near the centre. The ſoldiers, ſtanding round them, have frequently fallen down in a ſwoon. The preſent Landgrave has had them removed.

On the 8th, we paſſed the celebrated Bergſtraſſe *; that extends from Darmſtadt to Heidelberg; which is one of the moſt pleaſant and remarkable roads in Germany. It is ſeven miles long; and we thought it progreſſively beautiful, as we approached Heidelberg. To our left lay the lofty uninterrupted chain of mountains. Oppoſite to theſe, the Melibokus rears its head; on the top of which the late Landgrave built a white watch-tower. We had ſeen this tower, ſome miles before we

* A noble chain of mountains, ſo called. T.

came

came to Mentz. It may be ſeen from Pirmacenz, on the frontiers of Lorrain; where this Prince often reſides.

The ruins of old caſtles, built in the feudal ages, are ſeen on the other mountains; and the moſt lofty of them are adorned with foreſts, and vineyards, to the very top. Between the mountains lie plains of various extent: the productions of which maintain many towns, and villages; built at the feet, or on the ſides, of the hills.

The valleys on the right ſide are equally fertile; and the proſpect is at one time broken by diſtant blue hills, with bold and projecting foreſts, and at others diverſified by plains, that ſtretch themſelves out to a vaſt extent. Theſe plains, like thoſe at the foot of the chain of mountains, have numerous large walnut, apple, pear, and plum orchards: the height and beauty of which are by no means equalled in the gardens of the north of Germany. The cheſnut and the almond are ſeldom ſeen here; but the apricot grows to a great height. In this mild climate, and under the friendly ſhade of foliage thus diverſified, the fertility is great and various. We did not ſee the country in

all

all its beauty; for the harveſt was over, and the fields were ploughed to receive the next year's ſeed.

Beſide the common kinds of grain, the farmers here cultivate ſpelt, and dünkel; one of which is a good kind of rye, the other a variety of wheat. Between the rows of vine plants, aſparagus, lettuce, and other vegetables are reared. Every kind of vegetable grows in common here with various grains; with trefoil, lucerne, hemp, poppy, tobacco, plantations of mulberry trees, and maiſe, which we call Turkiſh but which the Palatines call Italian wheat. The poor uſe this inſtead of oats: though its chief conſumption is to feed the pigs and the poultry. The ears of millet, that fall uninjured to the ground, are given to the horned cattle; which are generally ſtall fed: though ſtall feeding is not ſo univerſal but that large droves of them are ſeen, in an evening, with herdſmen driving them home.

The ſmalleſt furrows in the fields, and the graſs found in the lanes, as in Saxony, afford them paſture. The roſy laſſes come in the evening, with their ſickles, and cut this graſs: for the uſe of the ſickle is common. I have ſeen oats, the ſtalk of which was not ſtronger than

than ours, cut with difficulty: though it might have been mowed with much greater eaſe, in much leſs time, and with leſs loſs.

The wine of theſe parts is called Berg-ſträſsler *. It is cooling; and reſembles the ſmall kind of Rheniſh, or the beſt wine of Saxony.

The heat was very great; and we put up at an inn, between Weinheim and Heidelberg. It was a holiday, and the people were dancing. The feſtivity of the ſcene, and the muſic of a ſalt box and a village fiddler, enraptured our poſtillion as much as if Oberon had been ſounding his horn. Hot as he was, from the ſides of his dripping horſe, he choſe his girl, and, in a circular dance, ſwung her round with might and main.

I have ſeldom enjoyed a glaſs of country wine, and a ſlice from a holiday loaf, ſo heartily as I did among theſe cheerful happy people.

Heidelberg lies behind a hill, round which we travelled, and on a ſudden had a view of the beautiful Neckar, with the town built on its banks. Beyond, mountains are ſeen: Heidelberg being ſituated in a ſmall valley, and

* Franconian. T.

part

part of it built on the declivity of a hill, with the old caſtle much above it, though far from the top.

I recollected the beautiful proſpect from the caſtle, which I had ſeen ſixteen years ago, with great pleaſure. We climbed the hill, in deſpite of the heat; and viſited the grand and beautiful ruins.

The old Counts Palatine and Electors cut in ſtone, after the ancient German manner, are placed in deep niches between the windows. The ſtatue of a female, with two young children in her arms, repreſenting chriſtian love, and executed in a much ſuperior ſtyle, is placed in a niche on the principal façade. The countenance of the woman is highly characterized by dignity and beauty.

A deep moat, planted with trees, ſurrounds the caſtle. A large part of one of the vaſt round towers is fallen; and lies in picturesque ruins on the ſide of the moat.

There is a garden on the caſtle hill, through which various trees, in wild yet pleaſing neglect, are ſcattered; among others a large Sevenbaum *.

* Juniperus Sabina.

There

There is a terrace in the garden, built on the ſteepeſt part of the hill, from which is one of the moſt captivating views in all Germany. Here, ſkirted by the foreſt clothed hills, we ſee the Neckar wind, bathing the town, loſing itſelf among the foliage of the plains, again appearing, and again concealed. On theſe plains, we here and there diſcovered lofty trees; and here and there majeſtic woods, and diſtant mountains, mingling with the horizon, and concealing the ſun; which, while we were there, was ſetting among the clouds. We loſt the pleaſure of ſeeing it deſcend; but not that of contemplating the glowing welkin. Streaming through the dark maſs, the rays fell on the diſtant hills, gilding them with their golden tints; while theſe were admirably relieved and heightened, by the deep blue of ſtill more diſtant mountains.

We remained on the terrace, hoping that the ſun might again be ſeen, between the hills; but twilight approached, thunder was heard afar off, the lightning played upon the oppoſite heights, and the gathering clouds began to obſcure the heavens.

We lingered here ſo long that we were too late to ſee the famous tun of Heidelberg; con-

concerning which my little Erneſt has ſo often queſtioned me. The people who uſually ſhew it were gone home.

We ſaw a ſtone image of the Virgin Mary, with the child Jeſus in her arms. On one ſide was a truly catholic Latin inſcription: on the other we diſcovered a no leſs remarkable German diſtich.

Noch ſtein, noch bild, noch ſäulen hier,
Das kind und mutter ehren wir *.

We continued our journey on the following morning through Bruchſal, and Durlach; and arrived here in the afternoon. The appellation Bergſtraſſe † very properly ceaſes at Heidelberg; where the uninterrupted chain of mountains ends; yet this road is characterized by the ſame features. Smaller heights, moſt of them planted with vineyards, lie to the left. Both ſides are remarkably fruitful. On the right, the valley often expands; and is ſometimes interſperſed, and at others appears wholly covered, with foreſts of the oak

* Neither ſtone, nor image, nor pillars, but the child and the mother we honour.

† Street, or chain of mountains.

and

and the beech. Beyond these forests, the distant mountains of Lorrain are occasionally seen.

Bruchsal is a well built town. The Bishop of Spires resides here, in a beautiful palace. There is a large salt work at this place.

About a league from Durlach, a small brook, rushing from the top of a hill, divides the circle of the Rhine from the circle of Swabia.

The manners and the countenances of the people of Swabia are here alike distinct.

About a league of the road, between Durlach and Karlsruh, is decorated with a charming row of Lombardy poplars. We found these rare trees beginning to be frequent at Düsseldorf; and the farther we proceeded, southward, the better they became.

LETTER VII.

Karlsruh, 15th August 1791.

THE very day we came here, we hurried to the house of Schlosser. About sixteen years ago, when he was High Bailiff in

in Emmedingen, which belongs to Baden, I ſaw him for a ſhort time. The benevolence of his writings had long excited an ardent wiſh in me to meet him once again. The more original the more animated a man's works are, the more clear and the more profound are his thoughts; and the more ſtrong and flowing his ſenſations, the more certain we may be that the man is more excellent than his writings. Whoever is of a ſecondary order, either in poetry or philoſophy, exhauſts himſelf on paper. The works of a compiler are always ſuperior to their author; with whom I have no wiſh to be acquainted, even though he ſhould collect ſomething valuable for my amuſement. We cannot long ſtand to admire an artificial fountain, where the water iſſues through the mouths and breaſts of dolphins and mermaids; though we repoſe with delight at the bubbling ſource, and under the cool ſhade of the dripping rocks where the ſtream firſt takes its riſe. Oh Klopſtock! Thou mighty river of our age and country, how often have I been ſtrengthened, refreſhed, and inſpired with new life, by thy ſtream: which, flowing, full, and ex-

hauſtleſs, directs its bold courſe to the ocean of immortality!

You will eaſily imagine the joy I have felt, at meeting both Schloſſer and the poet Jacobi; with whom I have earneſtly longed to be acquainted for theſe twenty years. Schloſſer is profeſſor at Freiburg, in Briſgau; and comes here during the vacation. Alike as theſe men are, in their ardent love of the true and the beautiful, yet in their purſuits they are very different. The liberal diſpaſſionate philoſopher, who with the torch of truth expels the darkneſs of the ſophiſt; who finds him in his moſt hidden receſſes, drags him to light, and with attic irony expoſes his abſurdities; the undaunted man, who dares perform the duties of a citizen, and cut the gordian knot which the added ignorance of ages has rendered all but impenetrable; this man and the feeling the tender poet, who, from early youth, has wooed the muſe, free, friendly, and ſportive, in her inſpirations, can neither of them be known without creating the moſt lively and the moſt ardent emotions of ſympathy, of reverence, and of love. It is a general and a ſacred law of nature, which binds

binds the ſtrong to the weak; the daring to the lovely. Is it not this law to which the human race is indebted for its ſocial ties, and beſt enjoyments? I conſider the friendſhip of men like theſe as the moſt blooming of the flowers with which the hand of God, and not ſcantily, has interwoven the garland of life.

The Margrave is abſent, on a viſit to the uplands of his principality. He is univerſally ranked among the beſt of the princes of Germany.

Counſellor Böckmann has very kindly ſhewn us his inſtruments, for the promoting of mechanical and experimental diſcoveries; and explained their uſes. He poſſeſſes a large aſtronomical clock, conſtructed by the reverend paſtor Hahn; which not only contains the common diviſions of time, but has likewiſe diviſions of ten, of a hundred, and of a thouſand years. The ſpectator contemplates with pleaſure the contraſted quick motion of the ſecond hand, and the thouſand year hand; which turns on a ſmall dial plate, not larger than that of a Pariſian watch. The progreſs of the latter in fifty years is very ſmall; ſo that its motion is imperceptible. The ten, hundred, and thouſand, year hands are not a

mere diſplay of the art of the maker: they are of great uſe; for, on the large dial plate, which contains all the leſſer, the globes are deſcribed, and the progreſs of the ſtars denoted: ſo that the hands, by their combining motions, diſplay the variations, poſitions, and appearances, of the earth and the heavenly bodies.

We ſaw a watch made by Mr. Auch, of Stutgard; a ſcholar of the miniſter, Hahn. He is only ſix-and-twenty; yet, in the opinion of ſome, he already ſurpaſſes his maſter. This watch contains the diviſions of time, from a ſecond to a century. On the oppoſite ſide, on a clouded azure ground, is ſeen the courſe of the ſun and the moon, with its nodes and eclipſes. The artiſt means to improve this watch, and deſcribe the courſe of Venus; as a morning and an evening ſtar. The price of the watch is only three hundred rix dollars; which is but about half the ſum paid for an Engliſh time-keeper; and which does not deſcribe the courſe of the heavenly bodies.

This artiſt has likewiſe conſtructed an arithmetical machine, that works the moſt difficult queſtions, with incredible expedition, by the aid of a comprehenſive table: in about five hours

hours he worked all the ſums from eleven times eleven to one hundred and ſixteen times a hundred and ſixteen; while an expeditious writer could ſcarcely copy the products faſt enough *.

" Mr. Auch is now (1790) five-and-twenty " years old; and is the ſon of a peaſant of " Würtemberg. When a child, about the age " of four or five, he often roſe with the ſun; " and diligently employed himſelf in mecha- " nical purſuits. He conducted water through " tubes of elder; dug wells; made conduits of " quills; and, about his ſixth year, made a " pendulum clock, from ſhingles, with a kind " of Engliſh cogs; which would go tolerably " for a quarter of an hour. In his tenth year, " he wiſhed his ſchool-maſter to teach him " arithmetic: in which requeſt he was not " indulged. At eleven, he was permitted to " ſtand in a corner, while the teacher heard " the other ſcholars their leſſons; all of whom " he ſoon excelled, and was often cited, by " the maſter, as an example; and as capable

* The above particulars, and what follows, of his life, are to be found in an eſſay by Profeſſor Böckmann, inſerted in the firſt part of the ſecond volume of the *Journal der Phyſik*, publiſhed by Dr. Gren profeſſor at Halle 1790.

" of working ſums too difficult for the other " pupils. His father wiſhed to bind him ap- " prentice to a barber: but for this the boy " had no inclination.

" At laſt, he was brought acquainted, by " his own paſtor, with the Reverend Mr. " Hahn; at Kornweſtheim, near Ludwigſ- " burg; who found in him a ſcholar as apt to " learn as he was thankful for inſtruction. " He afterwards quitted his teacher, and re- " ſided at Vaiſingen; a ſmall town in the pro- " vince of Würtemberg; where he married, " and lived highly reſpected for his talents " and his morals. He employed his leiſure " hours in reading; much to the improvement " of his heart, and underſtanding. Aſtrono- " mical knowledge was that which he moſt " eagerly endeavoured to acquire. He con- " ſtructed a meridian line for himſelf, with " other neceſſary aſtronomical inſtruments; " and began, with great ardour, to obſerve the " motions of the heavenly bodies: proceeding " to draw ingenious plans, to ſimplify aſtro- " nomical watches, and the whole ſyſtem of " the univerſe."

I have the leſs difficulty in ſending you theſe anecdotes of a living artiſt, becauſe I think

think it highly probable that this young man, who has already diſplayed ſo much genius, will hereafter make very valuable diſcoveries.

Mr. Böckmann ſhewed us, among other valuable inſtruments, a Wedgewood Pyrometer. It conſiſts of two ſtraight pieces of braſs, fixed nearly parallel to each other upon a flat ſcale of the ſame metal. There is a ſpace between theſe braſs pieces about one Engliſh line wider at one end than at the other; and, the whole length being divided into one hundred and twenty parts, the inſtrument becomes a gage for meaſuring to the hundred and twentieth part of a line: the line being the twelfth part of an inch. In the uſe of the Pyrometer, a cylinder of porcelain clay is expoſed, together with the ſubject of experiment, to the ſame heat of a furnace; and the gage, by admeaſurement of the greater or leſs contraction produced in the cylinder, ſhews the degree of temperature with great exactneſs, to the utmoſt power of a melting furnace. Theſe cylinders have accordingly been applied to the practical meaſurement of the heat of furnaces for glaſs making, or the fuſion of metals: a diſcovery the

utility of which is as great as it is ſelf-evident.

We viſited Mr. Kölreuter, the famous Botaniſt; who, by artificial vegetation, has ſucceeded in producing new ſpecies of plants. His mode is neither that of ſowing ſeed nor of tranſplanting: but by planting of ſhoots. It is remarkable that the growth of this new kind of vegetation ſhould be greater than that which we have ſuppoſed to be the natural growth: perhaps it is becauſe that, by this method, the expence of ſap is leſſened. By repeated experiments, he has no leſs ſucceſsfully reduced theſe varieties to their original form, and genus. He has again conducted them through their different gradations, and again and again fully reſtored them to all their original powers, and properties; bringing back ſome of them to the male kind, and others to the female.

Tireſias was ſtruck blind, when he daringly endeavoured to unfold the ſecrets of Venus. May we not expect that another Nemeſis ſhall purſue the man who, with wonderful wiſdom and paſſionate ardour, has drawn aſide the veil of Nature?

This

This bold and diſcreet obſerver, who watched the Bees at their employment, and who, by placing glaſs tubes in the ambroſial cups of flowers, robbed them of their ſweets and brought forth honey, this remarkable man has not a foot of land, that he can call his own. Not one of the great men of Germany has conferred on himſelf the honour, or the delight, of beſtowing a garden on this ſage: whoſe ſcience is as pleaſant as it is abundantly beneficial.

The palace garden at this place is large, agreeable, and rich in exotics; ſome of which would in vain be ſought for in the Linnæan ſyſtem: and theſe are pointed out, by aſteriſms, in a printed catalogue.

Karlſruh is regularly built. The town contains about a third part of a large circle; the centre of which is the palace. The ſtreets are at equal diſtances; and terminate in the right line walks that lead to the garden, and the wood; forming, with theſe walks, the half of a circle; and having the appearance of a ſpider's web.

LETTER VIII.

Ulm, Auguſt 19th 1791.

WE left Karlſruh on the 16th. Our road led us back to Durlach; and afterward, through delightful meadows, to Pforzheim. The people were buſy about their ſecond hay harveſt. In theſe fruitful parts, the graſs is three times mowed each ſeaſon. Their paſtures muſt not only be very fruitful, but the hay very excellent; for its odour was much ſtronger than that of the north of Germany. It reminded me of the hay harveſt in Switzerland.

Pforzheim lies on the Ens, in a very pleaſant valley. In the territory of Baden, the fertility of the earth and the induſtry of the inhabitants ſeem to vie with each other.

Würtemberg does not appear to me to be ſo fruitful by far, though equally well cultivated: neither are the roads there ſo charming, as in Baden. We paſſed the caſtle of Hohenaſperg; in which the Duke has kept poor Schubart impriſoned for theſe ten years, no man knows why: although he was enticed

to

to quit Ulm, in which free imperial city he was ſettled; and although he was born a Burgher of the imperial city Aalen.

We viſited the military academy in Stutgard. The Emperor Joſeph the Second inveſted it with the privileges of a univerſity. In the upper claſs, the ſciences that appertain to the four faculties are taught. The number of tutors is a hundred and forty-three. Inſtruction is amply communicated; and few ſeminaries equal this, either in ſcholaſtic or military ſcience.

Whether a dignified ſpirit inſpires the whole? Whether true humanity finds its way into the halls, and chambers of the ſtudents? And whether a military education be promoted in the beſt manner? are queſtions which all who viſit this univerſity muſt aſk. The cuſtom of giving each ſtudent a cartel of the faults he has committed, which he is to ſhew the Duke when he viſits the academy, who dictates whatever puniſhment he thinks proper, appears to me to be very pernicious. And the more ſo as the youth keeps this memorandum for weeks; till the ſum of his offences brings upon him a ſevere puniſhment. May not this tend to embitter his temper? Or make

make him cowardly; perhaps melancholy; perhaps ſhameleſs?

We ſaw two hundred and ſeventy-five boys and youths eat in a ſpacious hall. Why is there a ſeparation made, at the table, between the ſon of the citizen and of the noble? It is not wiſe to oblige youth to remark the inequality of rank, before they have learned to diſtinguiſh the harmony which this inequality produces. By theſe means, youth eaſily adopt the pernicious opinion that, being better born than others, they are better men.

Four young princes eat at a ſeparate table. Eight ſcholars, in reward of their good conduct and aſſiduity, eat and ſit without diſtinction of rank at another table. Does not this regulation itſelf likewiſe tend to nouriſh the pride of birth? Is not that averſion which the citizen is ſo apt to conceive againſt the noble, and which is no leſs injurious than the arrogance of high birth itſelf, thus increaſed? The marks of diſtinction too, called orders, which theſe eight youths wear? Woe to that education which excites a deſire of that which true philoſophy, and dignity, teach us to deſpiſe!

Day ſcholars included, the number of ſtudents

dents is about five hundred. Nearly three hundred board in the houſe; and almoſt one half of them at the Duke's expence. The pay for the others is ſmall: two hundred florins for boys of eight years old; five hundred for thoſe of fifteen and upward; and the intervening ages in proportion.

They are well maintained, well fed, and well clothed. Their uniform is blue, with black trimmings. They are daily obliged to bathe in the garden, which is large and ſhady, in ſummer; and, in winter, in a capacious houſe bath. Each ſcholar has a ſmall plat of ground to himſelf. The collection in natural hiſtory is a good one; and, if the ſtudents deſire it, they have able maſters to inſtruct them not only in the ſciences but in the arts: and ſeveral good painters and engravers have been educated here.

We viſited the Solitude; a country ſeat built by the Duke. The way is pleaſant: it lies up a ſteep hill, leaving the town below in the valley, ſurrounded by vineyards, and orchards; and then leads through a beautiful foreſt, where the tame but proud ſtag is ſeen grazing.

The palace and the garden are ſituated in a place which was formerly a wilderneſs. Travellers

vellers are not admitted into the palace; though, as they paſs, the glaſs doors of the ground floor are open. An old tapeſtry, about an ell broad, is thrown over croſs laths, within the door, to prevent entrance; and the traveller is left with that curioſity excited which the guide refuſes to gratify. You may well ſuppoſe we proceeded no farther than the firſt door.

There is a large terrace in the front of the palace; from which the view is extenſive. Some ſay that ſixty-eight, others that eighty-two, towns and villages may be ſeen from it, through a teleſcope. This proſpect is deficient in water.

The garden is very large; but, in the laying of it out, art rather than good taſte has been conſulted. The trees have been left to their own growth: the ſhrubs are cut in ſtraight walks in all directions; and are overgrown by high hedges, as if it were to conceal their miſerable condition.

The orangery conſiſts of about fifteen hundred trees, moſt of them very large. Without doubt, were they planted in a valley, with a ſouthern aſpect, they would be more beautiful. The genius of conſtraint is every where perceptible.

ceptible. Their branches are forced and bound in all directions: ſo that the appearance of each tree is that of a round ball, on the top of a high pole.

We were ſhewn, with great triumph, a large pine tree; round which netting was thrown, to a conſiderable height, as a cage for the birds. They might have procured themſelves this pleaſure with an aviary formed of leſs trees: but this pine muſt be brought hither, at great expence; the earth entirely round its root, and drawn in a waggon by eighteen pair of oxen; which waggon, when the tree was tranſplanted, was buried under the root. I own I ſhould have left this place in a very ill humour, had not I perceived, behind a high clipped hedge, ſome lofty oaks; to which we repaired.

This place is called the Five Oaks: but of one there are now no remains; and of another little more than the root. Such monuments of antiquity deſerve to have their legends; and there is ſomething unuſual in the hiſtory of this latter tree.

During the autumn of the year 1755, when the earthquake happened at Liſbon, the ſtorm that

that accompanied it, which was felt over all Europe, blew one of the oaks down; though its roots were entangled with the others. The three that remain are the fineſt trees I ever ſaw: two of them bear deep and honourable marks of the lightning on their bark; though it did them no farther harm. All the three are flouriſhing; and may well have defied a thouſand autumnal ſtorms. At the time when the garden was laid out, a ſcaffold for dancing was built from the topmoſt arms of theſe trees. But this is falling to decay. How quickly have theſe giants of the foreſt, which ſtorms and tempeſts could not conquer, overcome this petty mockery!

For ſome years, this place has been neglected. The Duke's attention was ſoon drawn from it, by his new plans for Hohenheim. However, it has coſt large ſums; and will coſt ſtill more. Hohenheim is not ſhewn to ſtrangers: at leaſt not when, as at preſent, the Duke is abſent. Neither foreigners nor natives muſt ſee it, without a ſpecial permiſſion.

We left Stutgard early; and in the evening reached Ulm. The roads of Würtemberg are excellent. This day's journey was very plea-

ſant. We travelled all morning beſide the Neckar; through diſtricts as fertile as they were delightful.

The ſmall imperial town of Eſslingen lies on this river; which waters a beautiful valley that abounds in green paſtures, tall fruit trees, and fruitful fields. The Neckar wine of theſe parts is very good. Woody hills ſurround the vale; and, at a diſtance, the ſummits of that chain of mountains which is called Rauhe Alp,* and which is a part of the Swabian Alps, are ſeen. We afterward ſaw theſe hills approaching to the right; and other ſeparate mountains on the left: while the light played on the churches, and the ruins, which we perceived on the latter.

Among theſe hills, Hohenſtaufen riſes, in circular beauty, to the eye: reminding the German patriot of its noble antiquity. This was the cradle of our Kings and Emperors, from the Swabian line: a line equally renowned in hiſtory for its genius, its courage, and its misfortunes. Near Giſslingen, we travelled two leagues over theſe hills; which we long ſaw behind us: but, our road lying

* The rugged Alps. T.

through a deep rocky valley, we loſt ſight of them.

From this valley, the road conſtantly aſcends; till we arrive at Ulm. How much higher muſt the ſource of the Danube be than that of the Rhine! How many provinces muſt it water, before it arrives at the ſea!

When we were a few leagues from Ulm, we perceived the Glaciers of Switzerland; which can frequently be ſeen to the diſtance of forty leagues: but the ſky in that direction was cloudy.

We ſpent a day at Ulm, in company with my friend Miller; with whom I had lived a year at Göttingen, and whom ſixteen years ago I had viſited here with my brother. After ages will admire and love the noble ſimplicity of his poems; and, in them, the excellent heart of the poet. My grandchildren ſhall tell their playfellows they were written by the man I had the happineſs to call my friend. He ſhewed us the Danube, with its fertile and lofty ſhores, from the ramparts.

From this place, eighteen years ago, I turned a wiſtful look to the ſunny glaciers of Switzerland; which I had juſt left. I now once more ſaw them from the ramparts;

and

and likewiſe from the tower of the cathedral.

This cathedral, as well for its ſize as for the height of its gothic towers, is one of the largeſt in Germany. From theſe towers the courſe of the Danube may be traced, to a great diſtance. This river, though ſo far from the ocean, has a character of greatneſs; which ſhews it to be the firſt river in Europe.

LETTER IX.

Lindau, on the Lake of Conſtance,
Auguſt 21ſt 1791.

WE left Ulm early yeſterday; proceeding at firſt along the Danube, till we ſaw its junction with the Iller. During the whole day's journey, the lofty Puſberg was in view; and we paſſed through parts that were generally fruitful, but not remarkable for their beauty. Right before the imperial town of Biderach, a lovely valley drew our attention.

Some leagues from the ſmall imperial town of Ravenſburg, we yeſterday evening ſaw, in

the faint and dark ſhades of the diſtant horizon, the high tops of the mountains of Switzerland.

We early left the vineyard heights, that ſurround the beautiful valley which lies to the right of Ravenſburg; and, on the other ſide of the right lake of Conſtance, ſaw the hills of Bregenz: beyond which lay the much higher ſummits of the diſtant glaciers. The proſpect aſtoniſhed me. It is true I had before ſeen the higheſt mountains of Switzerland; and yet the ſurpriſe was ſo great that I ſeveral times doubted whether I did not miſtake clouds for mountains. How deep is the impreſſion which theſe ſublime beauties of nature leave behind them!

We changed horſes at Tetnang; an Auſtrian diſtrict, which was worthily for ſome time the reſidence of Angelica Kaufmann. This excellent artiſt is a native of a ſmall town in the foreſt of Bregenz; which, while it enjoys great freedom, is under the protection of Auſtria.

Travelling from Tetnang through foreſts and meadows, the proſpect ſuddenly became more extenſive. We beheld the lake of Conſtance approaching, and ſaw the mountains of Bregenz,

Bregenz, and likewiſe thoſe of Tyrol, Appenzel, and Glaris, crowned with eternal ſnow. We travelled amid continual vineyards and orchards: perceiving before us, and on our right, a proſpect of fertility that inſpired the moſt heartfelt ſatisfaction. This proſpect was wonderfully heightened by the beams of the morning ſun; caſt, in different directions, like tranſparent veils; of which no perſon can form any idea who has not ſeen the large lakes of Switzerland, with their ſurrounding mountains. The clearneſs of the water, on which the ſun ſhone, the ſnowy heights, and the white welkin, were contraſted with the midnight ſhadows of the deep valleys and cliffs. We continually approached the charming lake till we came to the long beautiful bridge, which is three hundred and fifty paces over, and which unites the well built ſmall imperial town of Lindau with Terra firma.

In the afternoon, we went upon the lake of Conſtance: the largeſt in Germany, and indubitably one of the moſt beautiful in Europe. Our landlord took us to the houſe of a Burgomaſter of this little republic; from the windows of which we had a view of the whole lake. Hence we perceived the riſing ſummits

of the mountains of Tyrol, Appenzel, and Glaris; the proſpect extending to the rocky fortreſs of Hohentwiel in Würtemberg. Lord Baltimore, after he had travelled over a great part of the earth, lived ſome months in this houſe. He kept a ſailing boat; and perhaps found here more of the ſublime and beautiful, and with them more true enjoyment, than he had ever before met with in all his travels.

In the duſk of the evening, we walked upon the bridge; delighted with the charming habitation of our friend, and with our own ſenſations; and determined, if the wind ſhould favour us on the morrow, to ſail to Conſtance.

We ſhall remain there ſome days: for, as I lately ſang, in the beauteous vale of the Neckar, near Eſslingen——

Where'er my pilgrim feet would ſtray,
I while the lingering hours away.
My former pleaſures back I bring,
On Memory's ſwift and boundleſs wing:
She builds me temples; where, full well,
The frolic Muſes love to dwell:
(Rapacious while the ſons of care
Tormented hurry, here and there)
Enrapt I lie, bound by their magic ſpell.

Oh,

Oh, welcome be my happy doom!
The flowers of youth ſtill round me bloom;
While the maturing mid-day ſun,
Glowing and bright, is coming on.
With teeming fruits he ſpreads my board:
Let me enjoy the precious hoard!
Give my unbridled Fancy room
For preſent joys, and joys to come;
By genius gather'd, and by wiſdom ſtor'd!

But fleeting pleaſure will not ſtay!
Then be my life an April day;
Skirted with clouds, of hope and fear:
And now a ſmile, and now a tear:
This mild; that melting; full, yet bright;
Such as the flowing heart delight!
With purple ting'd, and edg'd with gold,
So ſhall theſe clouds their wealth, untold,
Pour on my head, and bleſs me in their flight!

The Gods behind their azure ſkreen
Are hidden, now; and now are ſeen!
What time the jocund Hours advance,
And round them throng, in myſtic dance.
For dancing ſtill the Hours ſhall come;
On me ſhall ſmile; on me ſhall bloom!
They and the tiptoe Sports are mine;
The Pleaſures; and the Muſe divine!
The lovely Muſe, that makes my cot her home!

Free, yet domeſtic, as a Dove;
Now cradled, like an infant Love;
And now on earth; and now in air;
She flutters here, and flutters there!

Lo how the jocund Miſchief ſmiles!
But mark her pranks, her whims, and wiles!
In wanton warfare, playful ſtrife,
She ſpins the golden thread of life,
And with eternal antics every care beguiles!

LETTER X.

Conſtance or Koſtnitz, 24th Auguſt 1791.

THE day before yeſterday, we were informed, at Lindau, that the wind was unfavourable. We journeyed by land to Mörſburg, which is ſituated beſide the lake ten leagues from Lindau. Here the waters of the Arge, which empties itſelf into the lake, were out; ſo that we were obliged to go round, frequently loſing ſight of the lake, and as often ſurpriſed by its re-appearance. Whenever we looked toward Switzerland, we ſaw the mountains. Our road continually lay through large orchards; and among foreſts of pines. On every height, we ſaw the valley and the lake below covered with the vine, with the apple,

and

and the walnut tree. The barberrybuſh*, with its red berries, and the beautiful lily-coloured crocus, which with us only grow in gardens, are here found wild; as likewiſe is the poiſonous nightſhade.

You know I am no botaniſt, but I paſſionately love plants; and it gives me great pleaſure, when I diſcover ſome of them growing wild, which, with us in the northern provinces of Germany, are obliged to be carefully reared. On our journey between Münſter and Pempel fort, we ſaw the tall red *digitalis*, or Fox glove, which in our province only grows in gardens.

In the ſmall imperial town of Buchhorn, we changed horſes; and proceeded by the ſide of the lake to Mörſburg, the ſeat of the Biſhop of Conſtance.

At Mörſburg, we were rowed over the lake to Conſtance; and, as the wind was unfavourable, we were three very pleaſant hours on our paſſage. Oh that I could communicate to you ſome ſmall idea of the beauties of the lake! It is about ſeventeen leagues long; and

* Barbaritzen büſche——I ſuppoſe it to be barberry buſh; though this buſh grows wild in the hedges of England. T.

from

from three to five broad: and the clear green tranſparency of its waters, with the changeable aſpect of its ſhores, give a combination of charms to its proſpects which are ſeldom ſeen. The mild, fertile, and gently riſing ſhores of Swabia are adorned with three imperial towns; Lindau, Buchhorn, and Ueberlingen: beſide the little town of Mörſburg, with various villages, hamlets, abbeys, and monaſteries.

The Tyrol mountains lie in a circle to the ſouth eaſt, in the form of a half moon; ſcarcely leaving room, on a ſmall ſlip of land, for the little town of Bregenz: on both ſides of which their feet advance far into the lake, and their ſummits riſe to the clouds.

The populous ſhores of Switzerland are more ſteep and grand, than thoſe of Swabia. Behind them tower three ſucceſſive rows of mountains; oppoſite to each other, as if in order of battle; and, by their various directions, divide the Cantons of Switzerland and the county of Tyrol from each other. The artillery of heaven repoſes, with awful threats, upon their cloudy ſummits. Between them lies the Rheinthal*, through which the moſt

* Rhine valley. T.

beautiful

beautiful river in Germany takes its courſe, and pours its waters into the lake; whence more voluminous they again purſue their way. The Alpſtein, a rocky mountain of the canton of Appenzel, riſes in all its terrors; here and there covered with ſnow, and often emerging from among the vagrant clouds, but ſeldom entirely viſible. More diſtant, and ſtill more lofty, more daring, and more ſteep, are the mountains of the canton of Glaris. If, while the Alpſtein delights yet terrifies the imagination, you would here repoſe, ſuperior promontories again attract your attention; and theſe do but conceal the ſtill higher glaciers, which cannot be ſeen from the lake.

For my own part, I am half inclined to prefer this lake to all the lakes of Switzerland.

I ſay to them all: for, ſixteen years ago, I, my brother, and Haugwiz, travelled on foot over the thirteen cantons, the country of the Griſons, the Italian ſtates, the Valais, Neufchatel, and (Little Mühlhauſen excepted, which is ſurrounded by Alſatia) all the provinces on the confines of Switzerland; viſiting all the principal lakes of this noble country to the number of four-and-twenty.

The north weſt ſide of the lake of Conſtance

ſtance is divided into two parts, by a broad ſlip of land. They are called the lakes of Zell, and of Ueberlingen; after the little town of Ratolfszell, or Zell, and Ueberlingen: though they are a part of the principal lake; except that the lake of Zell communicates only with the lake of Conſtance by the courſe of the Rhine. Each of theſe ſmall lakes is adorned with an iſland.

Yeſterday in the afternoon, we went to the Switzerland ſhore; which is only half a quarter of a league from Thor: then proceeded two leagues on the lake of Zell, and landed on the ſmall iſland called Reichenau; which appertains to Swabia. Here is a rich benedictine abbey; under the government of the Biſhop of Conſtance. It vaunts of its antiquity, of the honour of poſſeſſing the body of Charles the Fat, of numerous relics, and of an emerald which is an ell long, about half as broad, and of nine-and-twenty pounds weight. The monks ſay it was a preſent from Charlemagne. Whether this pretended emerald be a piece of green glaſs, of vitrification, or of ſpar, I leave the naturaliſt to determine. I would as willingly believe in their relics as in their emerald.

Although

Although the monk who conducted us did not appear quite so certain of the last as of the first, he still spoke of the precious stone, as well as of the relics, with awful amazement. He discovered some doubts of the nobility of the emerald; yet was so ignorant as to make conjectures concerning the shell fish, by which in his supposition it was engendered. The precious jewel was valued by him at three millions. He did not forget to detail the poverty of the monastery. We willingly left him, and passed through orchards and vineyards over a hill, from which we had a fine prospect. The wine of Reichenau is thought to be the best produced in the neighbourhood of this lake.

We passed over from the island to Arenenberg, on the Switzerland side, in the district of Thurgau; which belongs to the eight old cantons. This hill is not high, but pleasant from its beech woods, its rivulet, which springs from a rock, and its charming prospect. The sun was setting, and we had a view of the lake of Zell and Reichenau.

Had not the fortress of Hohentwiel, two Austrian hills, and the vineyards of the island,

undeceived

undeceived us, we might have imagined ourſelves near the lake of Plöner in Holſtein.

The owner of the hill, and of the houſe on its ſummit, is a Major in the imperial ſervice; who ſerved in the ſeven years war, and has now retired to Switzerland, there peaceably to enjoy himſelf in freedom. He was not at home. The friendly manner in which his ſervants invited us to enter, took us to the window, ſhewed us the proſpect, pointed out the winding rivulet, and ſerved us with fruit, were good proofs of the hoſpitality of Major von Streng, the owner.

In the morning, we went to viſit the Council-houſe; where we were ſhewn the arm chair, in which the Emperor Sigiſmund and Pope Martin the Fifth, of the family of Colonna, ſat*. We then viſited the place where, in 1415, John Huſs, and two years afterward his friend Jerome of Prague, who was at firſt more timid but who became no leſs courageous, were burnt; having firſt well defended

* Cox, in his Swiſſerland, ſays John the XXIIId. It might be either, or both: for John was depoſed and Martin elected, by the Council of Conſtance, in 1417; where they both then were. T.

the

the cauſe for which they ſuffered, in the preſence of the aſſembled prieſts and princes. We ſaw, in a houſe, as we came back, the effigies of John Huſs, carved in ſtonē, with the date of the year, 1415. Perhaps he lived in this houſe, when the Emperor granted him a paſſport to conduct him ſafely to Conſtance.

It is a noble figure: wiſdom and love beam in the heaven directed eye. The countenance denotes no arrogance, but on the contrary that benevolent fortitude with which, as Huſs approached the ſtake, he told his lordly perſecutors he would perſevere in the truth to death. The lines of the face are expreſſive of the ſilent affliction he felt, at the decline of the church. The form of the lips ſeems to denote that ſerenity of mind which he poſſeſſed at the ſtake, when, to the old woman who took up a firebrand that ſhe might have ſome part in the execution of a heretic, he ſmiling exclaimed, *Oh ſancta ſimplicitas!*

Conſtance, or Koſtnitz, is one of the oldeſt cities in Germany. It was a free imperial city, was in alliance with the Dukes of Auſtria, was often obliged to take part with the Confederates, and was again brought back to its

former alliances under the Emperor Maximilian. John Huſs and Jerome of Prague were burned here; although, a hundred years afterward, it was one of the firſt to declare in favour of the doctrines of Luther. The reformed religion was certainly taught here in 1519; two years after Luther had begun to preach againſt indulgences. Under the pretext that it had oppoſed the *Interim*, it was put under the ban of the Empire; and became the ſeat of war in the year 1546. In the year 1548 it went over to the Archduke Ferdinand, the brother of Charles V: reſigning itſelf, but with reſerve of its rights and privileges, to the Archhouſe of Auſtria. Accordingly it was relieved from the ban of the Empire; and flattered itſelf that the reconciliation was ſincere: but, the year following, Ferdinand took poſſeſſion of it, in his brother's name, and compelled the citizens to do homage.

The Empire exerted itſelf, in behalf of this city; and the ſtates of Swabia loudly proteſted againſt the Emperor's conduct: but, after many deceitful proceedings, the Emperor obliged the aſſembly of the ſtates, at the Diet of Augſburg in the year 1559, to leave him in poſſeſſion of the place. The Proteſtants

continued

continued to fly; and, after the time of the four year council, during which the city was at great expence, its trade was neglected, and it was much aggrieved, it loſt its freedom and has gradually declined.

In the afternoon, we went to the iſland of Meinau; which is a full league from this place, lying between the lake of Conſtance proper and the lake of Ueberling. It is ſix hundred paces from the ſhore; and is ſtill more pleaſant than the iſland of Reichenau. It ſeems to riſe like a little hill out of the water; and is covered with trees, vineyards, and corn fields. A great part of the lake of Conſtance is overlooked here; and when, by its winding, it eſcapes the eye, the heights on its ſhores are ſeen. Over theſe the ſteep Alpenſtein here, as in Lindau, upright appears to tower.

A gentle breeze ſprung up; and, at a diſtance, the lake ſeemed white and reſplendent like a mirror; its green waves waſhing the ſhores. This ſmall iſland contains all that man could wiſh. The deſire of living here, apart from the world and its turmoils, was excited in a very lively degree.

——*Illic vivere vellem,*
Oblitus ſtultorum, oblivi ſcendus et illis!

Forgetting all that fools can give,
By fools forgotten, let me live.

The *oblitus meorum* of Horace (forgetting my friends) does not coincide with my feelings; and I am perſuaded that the amiable poet, who only in a moment of miſanthropy could have ſaid this, would have approved of my reading.

On our return over the long wooden bridge from the iſland, we ſaw the ſun go down, concealed by the woody ſhores of the lake of Ueberling; while we occaſionally caſt a look at the large lake behind us. The Alpenſtein glowed with the beams of evening; the mountains of Glaris were gilded with pure gold; and the hills of Tyrol, ſhaded with dark grey, ſhed deep night over the plains beneath. The leſſer hills gradually diſappeared; while the more lofty ſeemed to hover in the air, like ſo many gigantic phantoms.

We took our leave of the lake, and of the ſurrounding mountains, where we had remained four days. I am convinced that ſenſations of mild regret are beneficial to the heart. The young fledged birds beat their wings,

wings, and flutter in the neſt, before they take flight. We mortals are but in the neſt: but the empyrium is in view, and we flutter and clap our anxious wings.

Oh Pſyche! How, impriſon'd, doſt thou pant!
How ſtrike thy pennons! How, 'mid hopes, and doubts,
And ſmiles, and tears, doſt thou perceive the darkneſs
Of thy knowledge, the languor of thy joys!

LETTER XI.

Zürich, 26th Auguſt 1791.

THE day before yeſterday, with the riſing ſun, we left Conſtance; and paſſed over the bridge of the Rhine. The fartheſt mountains roſe more viſible than on the foregoing days. The people of Swabia and Switzerland ſay that, when mountains are thus ſeen, they expect ſtorms, or rain. Proceeding to the lake of Zell, we had a view of all the mountains that overlook the lake of Conſtance. Before us, at the diſtance of ſome leagues, lay the three ſeparate mountains, Ho-

hentwiel, Hohnkreg, and Hohenſtoffel; and beyond all of Tyrol. We likewiſe very clearly ſaw a chain of the Glaciers; which, we were told, were in Italy; but, by their direction, they appeared to me to lie beyond the lakes of the four Waldſtädte, in the canton of Lucerne, or in the canton of Uri. The high fortreſs of Wurtemberg, Hohentwiel, was at a ſmall diſtance from the road, as we went to Schaffhauſen. Priſoners are kept in this fortreſs, as in that of Hohenaſperg.

About a league before we came to Schaffhauſen, we ſaw the Rhine in the valley, among woody ſhores, ſtrongly courſing its clear waves of emerald green, after having refreſhed itſelf in the lake of Conſtance. The top of a hill, in the foreſt over this ſtream, divides the German Empire (there no longer German) from Switzerland half a league before we come to Schaffhauſen. No longer German!

No!—By the ſacred waves of the Rhine, which riſes among the mountains of our more free allies; and which, watering the plains of the Batavians, lovers of liberty, empties itſelf in the ſea; No: our brethren of theſe hills, and our brethren of thoſe plains, are no longer

longer German; becauſe they would no longer endure the yoke of tyranny. We contemplate them with reſpect: yet may they never forget their origin! We caſt a retroſpective look of admiration over their dark valleys, with a hope that the time may come when the clouds that envelop our own hills ſhall diſappear. Here and there, where and when it ſhall be neceſſary, may the mountains be viſible! If they portend ſtorms, they likewiſe portend fertility. But oh, never may Germany, like France, miſtake the brand of exterminating diſcord for the fire of heaven! With ſuch a deluge may her parched plains never be fertilized!

The Rhine near Schaffhauſen is very beautiful, and flows over beds of rocks. In former times, there certainly were warehouſes here, for merchandize brought down the ſtream; from Bunden, Lindau, Conſtance, and other parts. The goods were unloaded here, becauſe of its vicinity to the fall of the Rhine. From theſe the town took its name. In the Switzerland, Swabian, and Auſtrian, dialects, the word Schaffen ſignifies to buy and ſell.

In the afternoon, we viſited the fall of the Rhine. Oh that I could give you an idea of

this ſpectacle! But deſcription, imagery, recollection itſelf, all ſink under the taſk. I ſaw it three times; and my aſtoniſhment at the laſt time was as great as at the firſt. It amazed me now, when a man, as much as it had done when I was a youth.

I appear to have ſaid ſomething, and yet I have ſaid nothing, when I relate that the broad ſtream, among bold cliffs, overgrown with trees, collects its waters in a prodigious maſs; which, though diſturbed, here and there riſes in circles of tranſlucent green; and, with thundering din and raging impetuoſity, dividing itſelf into three unequal cataracts, daſhes headlong againſt the rock below: that daringly reſiſts the ungovernable fury of the torrent! Daring, and dignified; yet not unchaſtized: as the deep cavities in its bed, and its perforated ſides, too plainly ſhew.

On the loweſt of theſe high ſhores, to the right of the waterfall, in the territory of Schaffhauſen, ſtands a thread mill. Oppoſite to this, in the diſtrict of the canton of Zurich, and on a very high rock, the caſtle of Laufen is built.

A ſtranger is firſt taken beſide the thread mill, where he is ſuddenly ſurpriſed; and his aſtoniſhment pleaſingly yet terribly excited.

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He is then led, by a ſmall winding path round the foot of the hill, to a circular baſon of the ſtream; and, being there placed oppoſite to the waterfall, he learns that the cataract, at which he has been amazed, is formed only by the ſhores and a rock that projects out of the ſtream, which conſtitutes about a fifth part of the waterfall.

Here he perceives the whole ſtream compreſſed between its rocky ſhores and three inſulated cliffs. He is then taken into a ſmall boat, paſſes the cataract on the dancing waves, and is landed on the ſide of Zürich. Here, below the caſtle of Laufen, is a ſcaffolding built over the waterfall. You are obliged to wait ſome ſhort time, till a ſmall door is opened; the key of which is kept in the caſtle; ſtanding immediately over the ſtream, and liſtening to its thunder. You then look down upon the terrific gulph. The imagination, overpowered, is dreadfully perſuaded that it ſhall be hurried into the deep. No poſſible idea can be formed of the force of the water; or of the reſiſtleſs violence with which it ruſhes. The poet Lenz, ſtanding here, ſtruck his thigh, and exclaimed, Hier iſt eine Waſſerhölle*!

* Literally: Here is a water hell.

After a fall thus rapid, the water is projected back to a great height; forming a cloud, white and denſe as the ſmoke of a forge, which conceals all beyond it. Every buſh on the rocky ſhores is dripping: when the ſun ſhines, the colours of the rainbow play in the froth and the riſing vapours.

No ſpectacle of nature ever ſo fixed and ſeized upon my mind as this. My Sophia trembled, and turned pale. My young ſon gazed, in ſilent admiration, at the ſtream; for, the clouds of ſpray concealing all around, it was the only viſible object. We ſtood motionleſs; in a fearful yet holy trance. I ſeemed as if I intimately felt the *præſens numen:* the divinity, preſent and active. While recollecting the manifeſt omnipotence of God, I was overpowered with the ſenſation of his all merciful love. It appeared as if the glory of the Lord paſſed before me; and I ſcarcely could forbear falling on my face and exclaiming—Oh Lord God, how gracious and benevolent art thou!

We had proceeded a conſiderable way on our return before we broke ſilence. It was not till our ſtrong feelings began to cool that we had a tranſient recollection of the philoſopher, who, while beholding the fall of the

Rhine, asked, with cold apathy, "Of what utility is this?" A philosopher will answer, when a sage will be silent: a philosopher may likewise question, when a sage will be silent*. Man, my good sir, lives not on bread alone. He has more dignified wants. While with trembling rapture he glances at nature in all her greatness, he can connect the utility of a thread mill with the sublimity of a cataract.

We yesterday morning left Schaffhausen. This town was first admitted into the league of the confederates in 1501: before this, it was an imperial town, whose burghers had ever been bold and ardent in the cause of

* Our traveller speaks from the fullness of his heart; and, as before, his intention is certainly excellent: but he forgets that distinctions like these, where there is no real difference, have a tendency to irritate men, who are already too much disposed to be angry. Till lately the word philosopher signified, not indeed a perfect, but a wise and a virtuous, man: a sincere and undaunted inquirer after truth. Why stigmatise him now, as the reverse of the sage? Is the sage perfect? Has the sage less fortitude, less sincerity, than the philosopher? The author did not mean this: yet surely this is what he insinuates. He is himself a philosopher, or a sage: but, like other philosophers, or sages, he is now and then subject to mistake. T.

freedom.

freedom. Its conſtitution is a mixture of ariſtocracy and democracy. John Müller, the great hiſtorian of the confederates, who to dignity of feeling and a clear underſtanding added unuſual ſtrength of ſtyle, was born a citizen of Schaffhauſen. Sparing in words, original in the turn of his phraſe, and full of his ſubject, he richly rewards the reader; who can follow his compreſſed though occaſionally heavy periods. Were I condemned for my ſins of authorſhip to criticiſe a work of ſo much worth, the pen would drop from my hand.

Trippel, the celebrated ſculptor at Rome, is likewiſe a burgher of Schaffhauſen.

Once more, before we began our journey in the morning, we viſited the fall of the Rhine; and were once more amazed at the grandeur of the ſpectacle. It is really of that nature that the oftener it is ſeen the ſtronger is the impreſſion it makes.

About noon we arrived at Egliſſau. This municipal town of the canton of Zürich is ſituated in a ſmall valley, on both ſides of the Rhine; which, winding firſt among narrow rocks, purſues its rapid courſe in a right line, rolling its green waves among leafy hills,

till

till it again takes a curve, and again concealed by the rocks is loſt to the eye.

The little town of Egliſſau is uncommonly pleaſant; its houſes denote the active benevolence of freedom. The whole taxation of the citizens, an inconſiderable rent excepted, conſiſts in the tythes of their corn and wine. Theſe tythes effectually amount to the tenth of the produce; and are collected in kind; for the maintenance of the clergy, and the municipal officers. They originated in the church tythes, which were aboliſhed at the Reformation; when the magiſtracy took upon itſelf the ſupport of the ſchools and clergy.

The ſame beneficent marks of proſperity which diſtinguiſh the town are viſible in the country. The people, well fed, well clothed, laborious, and cheerful, live in roomy, clean, and airy houſes. Their fields have the appearance of gardens; by which they are the more ſtrikingly contraſted with the wild beauties of ſurrounding nature.

As we travelled through them, we ſuddenly perceived the pleaſant town of Zürich, built in a fruitful valley; and likewiſe the river Limmat and the lake. From the window of our inn, we ſaw the Limmat iſſue from the lake

lake: on the other ſide of which, beyond a double row of mountains, ſtill higher mountains roſe.

LETTER XII.

Zürich, 2d September 1791.

WE have now been here eight days: of which eight days, oh, how much have I to ſay! After an abſence of ſixteen years, I have again ſeen our friends; Lavater, Heſs, and Pfenninger. Are they entirely what they were? No: not entirely. The river at its mouth grows larger, and more mighty. Wine every year becomes more potent, and mild: the goodneſs of good men every year increaſes. Time, meditation, and ſenſibility, have traced their furrows on the face of Lavater: it betrays an alteration of more than ſixteen years: but his ſoul, his heart, his benevolence, his cheerfulneſs, his ſerenity, flouriſh in eternal youth. The taunts of his adverſaries have not conquered him; have

not

not weakened in him that firm and lively belief in the excellence of human nature, which was ever his chief characteriſtic.

I need not tell you that we viſit our friends as often as convenient. We will ſpeak more of them when we meet. Their names will not then be forgotten. Many an evening, as we ſit by our own fireſides, will they again and again be repeated*.

Lavater took us, the day after our arrival, to a public walk; which, ſome years ago, was laid out on the ſouth eaſt ſide of the town. There are high terraces among theſe walks. Theſe and their various proſpects, ſome gently riſing toward the hills, ſome to the lake, diſcovering the ſituation of Zürich, the lake beſide which it is built, the Limmat and the water ſluice, make this a charming place. Thoſe liberal expences, which characterize a

* The Reverend Mr. Pfenninger is now entering his four-and-fortieth year. Perhaps, in his writings, he may ſhew a want of the conſiſtency and conſideration neceſſary to an author: but his ſermons are ſuperior to his other works; and his ſpiritual conduct is ſuperior to his ſermons. When young, I honoured his earneſt zeal; and cannot now enough admire his youthful ſerenity, his cheerful temper, the noble ſimplicity of his candour, and the pure benevolence of his heart.

free

free people, are incurred here as well for the profit as the pleasure of the burghers. The ingenious author, whose acute and just remarks have from the lines of the face pointed out the propensities of the man, maintains that the police of a town may be known from its pavement. It is natural that free citizens should equally consult their convenience and their advantage; and, where the government is in one, or in many, it would be equally advantageous to the one, or the many, were the enjoyments as well as the necessities of the whole their undeviating rule of action. A standing army, a brilliant court, a thousand expences of never satisfied caprice, and a vain and ruinous luxury, exhaust in many kingdoms the riches of their impoverished lands; but do not give happiness to their inhabitants. The fountain, which should water the fields of the farmer, is made to rush through the brazen throat of a dragon; or the marble breast of a mermaid: and is the token of a royal garden, the gates of which are shut upon the citizen, by whose labour and at whose expence it has been constructed.

In these Cantons, where the expence is so trifling, the state is rich. The walks I have described

deſcribed coſt above a hundred thouſand florins. A wiſe government eſtimates the advantage which poor day labourers derive from works like theſe. Zürich is wealthy by the wiſdom of its œconomy. It expends great ſums for the benefit of the country. Its buildings and public inſtitutions are becoming the dignity of a free town. Patriotic ſimplicity ornaments the regulated welfare of the happy burgher.

In theory, the government of the town is that which the antients called ariſtocratic; but which the moderns continually confound with democracy. Each burgher has equal rights; and the officers of adminiſtration are choſen by their fellow citizens, among ſuch as are ſuppoſed to be the moſt capable. The government of the canton is an oligarchy; which government the moderns unjuſtly call ariſtocracy: for the country people are excluded from all ſhare in the adminiſtration. The municipality conſiſts of thirteen companies, only one of which is noble. Twelve men are choſen from each company; and conſtitute the great council: theſe again chooſe the little council, which is compoſed of fifty men; who are added to and complete the great

great council. The ſmall council is moſt reſpected; and may be conſidered as a more ſelect body. To the half of the ſmall council the adminiſtration of affairs is committed; and in ſix months the other half comes into office: ſo that in half a year the firſt burgomaſter yields to the ſecond. The election is annual: but the cuſtom is to re-elect the ſame members. The commiſſion of ſome crime only can exclude a member of the great council: but each member of the great council has a right, when any one of the little council has been guilty of a miſdemeanor, to propoſe another. The propoſition having been made, the votes are collected; and he who has a majority is choſen. Such is the confidence which theſe people place in their great council, and on which the calm of the city depends: for, as they truſt all the adminiſtration to the little council, it was wiſe to ſubject the powerful members thus annually to the ſuperintendance of the great.

Alliances, war, and peace, depend upon the collective voice of the citizens: but they cannot aſſemble without firſt having been ſummoned by the burgomaſter. People that are truly free do not feel the irritating neceſ-

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ſity to interfere upon all occaſions. They know that the mind of the mechanic is deficient in the knowledge neceſſary for the adminiſtration of public affairs. This diſcretion, confirmed by the happy experience of undiſturbed felicity, originates in the cuſtom which continues the members of the great council in office for life: though, for form's ſake, they are annually choſen. This annual choice is no more than a ſolemn ratification. Nothing diſturbs the tranquillity of a ſtate more than frequent elections; as the ſagacious Burke, one of the greateſt ſtateſmen of our times, in his excellent pamphlet againſt the French revolution, has ſo clearly ſhewn.

Actions for debt are determined by the municipal court. The eccleſiaſtical court conſiſts of laymen and divines. Every other kind of ſuit, between burgher and burgher, comes before the little council: with an appeal however lying to the great.

In dignity, Zürich is the firſt canton; though Berne is much more powerful. To Zürich, as to the canton that has the right of convoking, all foreign affairs firſt come. It annually iſſues mandates to aſſemble the deputies from the other cantons at Frauenfeld;

which is the chief town of the bailiwick of Thurgau. They meet in the middle of July; and continue to ſit ſix weeks. The ariſtocratical cantons (I here employ the uſual term) ſend a treaſurer, a ſecretary, and the burgomaſter out of office; the democratical the Landammann * out of office. The burgomaſter of Zürich has the precedence; and opens the aſſembly. With this right, Zürich has likewiſe the right and the duty, on urgent occaſions, of convoking an extraordinary aſſembly; which is called the *Tagſatzung*: but this has ſeldom happened; ſo long is it ſince the freedom of Switzerland has ſuffered any diſturbance †.

This venerable aſſembly, which may be compared to the council of Amphictyons in Greece, decide on all the important affairs of

* The provincial chief; or high bailiff. T.

† I wrote this in the year 1791. In the following year, the *Tagſatzung* was three times aſſembled: not from any internal diſturbance; but to conſider how the Swiſs regiments in France might be protected: as the French had baſely and treacherouſly diſarmed the Ernſt régiment of Berne; and, in Auguſt, had cut the Swiſs guards to pieces in Paris. Finding remonſtrance ineffectual, they menaced to invade France with ſixty thouſand men; and the French ſuffered the Swiſs to retire.

the

the thirteen confederate cantons. Here all internal differences are aſſiduouſly appeaſed: Here all complaints againſt the high bailiffs, or governors, are heard and determined. Foreigners likewiſe have the right to appeal to this aſſembly: yet it is very difficult, and almoſt impoſſible, for a foreigner to become a burgher of any canton. At Zürich, the firſt year of every century a foreigner is made a burgher: but his deſcendants cannot be of the council till the century following. The preſent members of the council are all branches of families that have enjoyed theſe privileges theſe three hundred years. Moſt of the burghers of Zürich can boaſt of this honour: ſo few have the admiſſions of foreigners been.

The country is governed by high bailiffs; who live in houſes that are the property of the public, and on the produce of certain appropriated lands. The council always keep an open ear to the complaints of the peaſant againſt his high bailiff. The firmneſs with which Lavater, when a youth, the painter Fuſeli, and the miniſter Felix Heſs, proſecuted a high bailiff, who, by his oppreſſions, had excited the indignation of the people, is well known. The bailiff was the ſon-in-law of

the chief burgomaſter: but he could afford him no protection. Any example of offences like theſe, committed by the high bailiffs of Zürich, has not ſince occurred.

The church tythes, which conſiſt of the tenth of the actual produce of the harveſt and the vintage, conſtitute the only tax which is levied on the farmer. The ſtate collects theſe tythes, and maintains the clergy. It likewiſe often aſſiſts thoſe communities that erect churches; though communities are expected to erect and maintain them at their own expence. Ten thouſand florins were very lately paid to a community from the treaſury of the republic.

The obligation which the country people are under, to ſell their wrought manufactures to the burghers of Zürich, is more oppreſſive than this inconſiderable tax. This reſtraint affects the wholeſale more than the retail trader: for the latter could only furniſh the ſhops at home; but the others might ſupply foreign dealers.

The ſtate poſſeſſes certain domains; the farming of which increaſes its revenue. The burghers are obliged to pay five per cent. for all goods manufactured in the town: an

eaſy

eaſy tax, and which likewiſe generally falls upon ſtrangers, who trade with the place. Theſe trifling revenues are more than ſufficient, in a country where the public officers receive no ſalaries; where no ſoldiers are maintained; and where, notwithſtanding, forty thouſand men, trained and armed, can, in four-and-twenty hours, be brought into the field; which is about a fifth part of the army of the whole confederacy.

The youth are trained to arms. All the males are exerciſed every Sunday in the afternoon; and no one dare marry till he can produce accoutrements and arms that have been proved. Thoſe who ſerve in foreign countries are ſo many experienced warriors for Switzerland. In the democratic cantons, beſide the pay of the ſoldier, each father of a family receives a crown a year from France: this is not paid to the ariſtocratic cantons.

Some years ago, the aſſembly of the canton of Schweitz, in a menacing manner, wiſhed to raiſe their pay with France. Jüzt, a ſage high bailiff, remonſtrated againſt their proceedings; and the enraged community accuſed him of corruption. He was condemned either to pay a hundred thouſand florins within eight

days, which florins were to be divided among them, or to forfeit his life. He had property, but not ſufficient; though he was willing to ſacrifice it all. On the appointed day, he appeared. On his right hand thirty thouſand florins were placed; on his left, promiſſory notes for ſeventy thouſand more. I am ready, ſaid he, to pay each citizen his dividend, who ſhall come to my houſe in perſon and make the demand. Moſt of them bluſhed, few appeared, and Jüzt only paid a third part of the penalty.

The canton ſent threateningly to its citizens to return from France; and, France juſtly holding itſelf no longer bound by its former engagements, the people of this canton found themſelves glad to ſend their youth to France again on leſs advantageous terms. Jüzt now lives reſpected by his fellow citizens; who acknowledge the injuſtice of which they were guilty.

Such deſpotic proceedings are every where poſſible, where the legiſlative and executive authority are united. This combination is not the leſs dangerous for being in the people. It is combining the moral and the phyſical power. A tyrant muſt tremble at a dagger; a ſenate

a ſenate at rebellion. But whom does the people fear? All thoſe, whether law-givers of France or fiſhwives of Paris (for often have theſe furies ſhared the ſovereign authority, and in fact with equal right)—all thoſe who do not know that the ſafety of the community depends on yielding up the phyſical power, as ſubject to the moral, underſtand but little of politics. It is quite ſufficient that the phyſical power may be rouſed from its ſlumbers. An army of mercenaries forge their own fetters.

In the ariſtocratic as well as in the democratic cantons of Switzerland, far from an army of mercenaries, they have no ſtanding army; and where, as in the democratic cantons, each citizen is armed, there the rights of the people are ſufficiently ſecured againſt the innovations of government. This ſlumbering power of the people would be dangerous to each individual, but for that ſimplicity of manners which characterizes the mild and upright yet warlike Swiſs. To this ſimplicity of manners, this reſpect for all that is ſacred, and not to their government, which is extremely defective, are the little democratic cantons indebted for their happineſs and tranquillity.

In their military arrangements with France, the Swiſs have ſtipulated that their regiments ſhall neither croſs the Rhine, to invade Germany, nor be tranſported to parts beyond ſea. The Prince de Soubiſe, during the ſeven years war, required the Swiſs to croſs the Rhine with the French army; and was oppoſed by Lochmann, the General of the Swiſs and a native of Zürich. Soubiſe angrily aſked, Of what uſe then are you? Lochmann drily replied, We will cover your retreat. Soubiſe however ſurrounded the Swiſs with French regiments, and obliged them to croſs the Rhine.

At Roſbach, the Swiſs ſtood long after the French had fled; and did not retreat till a great part of the combined army and two thirds of Lochmann's regiment lay dead on the plain. That the Swiſs ſhould not have been more bold in their remonſtrances to the French for this violence, and ſhould have ſuffered their fellow citizens to be ſent to Corſica, is not to the honour of this otherwiſe noble people. The jägers, or light horſe, are thought to be the beſt of the troops of Zürich.

LET-

LETTER XIII.

Zürich, 3d September 1791.

ON the 31ſt of Auguſt, we ſailed on the lake in company with a friend to Kilchberg; which is built on a hill, on the weſt ſide of the lake, a league from Zürich. When we were near Kilchberg we ſaw Lavater, following us on foot; and, having taken him into the boat, we ſoon arrived at the foot of the hill.

An accident had ſeparated me a few paces from the company. As I was walking, I perceived an old countryman; who, having fallen and broken his bald head, had covered it with vine leaves. He drew my attention. He looked at me, ſaw I was a ſtranger, and laughing ſaid, "Well, good ſir, is not Switzerland a fine country?" "Yes," I replied, in the fullneſs of my heart; "it is indeed." "God be with you, ſir," exclaimed he; and ſhook with pleaſure the ſilver locks that adorned his temples.

At Kilchberg, we viſited Mr. Würtz and his wife: a worthy pair. Lavater was in that

free, gay, and original, humour which diſtinguiſhes him; and heightened our feſtivity. We enjoyed a charming proſpect from the hill; and then took a walk in a pleaſant beech-wood, on the banks of the lake.

Much ſnow had fallen the night before on the diſtant mountains: eſpecially on the towering Tödi, in the canton of Glaris. On our return, we beheld an uncommonly beautiful ſunſet: its beams deſcended on the white ſummit of the Tödi; and ſhed their pure gold on the neareſt chain of hills, mixed with variegated ſhades of purple, while the decline of day produced continual novelty in the changeable horizon.

The day before yeſterday, I, my wife, and ſon, with the good Lavater, and his youngeſt daughter, went to Richterſweil. It ſtands four long leagues from the town, to the weſt of the lake; which is kept in view all the way. The road generally lies high above the ſhore; among vineyards, and large fruit and walnut trees; and ſometimes under the foliage of pines, evergreens, and groves.

The oppoſite ſhore is no leſs pleaſant; and both are incredibly populous. The territories extend on both ſides of the lake about four

leagues

leagues and a half. Houſe after houſe, village after village, continually meet the eye. The population of the ſhores of the lake, not including Zürich, is eſtimated at twenty-two thouſand.

As well here, on the lake, as in the interior part of the country, the culture of their fields, gardens and vineyards is attended to with extraordinary care; though moſt of the inhabitants round the lake are manufacturers. The beauty of their churches, their neat and roomy houſes, the good condition of their cattle; and, more than all, their own cheerful and friendly countenances, denote their happineſs. Some of them live by fiſhing; which, as well as hunting, is free throughout Switzerland; but thoſe who reſide near the lake depend moſt on their trade with Zürich, and with their neighbours in the canton of Schweitz; which ſupplies the canton of Zürich with corn that is purchaſed in Swabia.

The grain of Zürich is inſufficient for its own conſumption: its population, the mountains excepted, being eſtimated at between four and five thouſand ſouls to the geographical ſquare mile.

A league from Zürich we ſaw the town of Küſnacht:

Küſnacht: which you muſt not confound with Küſnacht, ſo famous in hiſtory, that is in the canton of Schweitz on the lake of the four Waldſtädte *. A rivulet runs through this Küſnacht; which is ſituated on the oppoſite ſide of the lake of Zürich, where the lake is not a league in breadth. This rivulet, which deſcends from the hills, about twelve years ago roſe to a fearful height; waſhed away eight-and-twenty houſes, and ſixty-three of the inhabitants, and overflowed the firſt ſtories of thoſe houſes that were ſtrong enough to withſtand its fury. A new married pair were found in a chamber, who had endeavoured to ſave themſelves on a high place behind an oven, locked in each other's arms: happy alike in love and in death.

Travellers to Richterſweil do not willingly paſs Talwyl, without alighting and enjoying the proſpect from the high church yard over the lake.

We left the peninſula called Au, which at high water is an iſland, on our left. Klopſtock mentions it, in his beautiful ode on the lake of Zürich.

* This term is explained in a note to Letter XVI. T.

"In

" In thoſe cool groves that bleſs thy happy ſhores
" We ſeek the ſhade."—

This iſland is high on all ſides; and is ſhaded with the beech tree.

At Wädenſchweil, which is half a mile on this ſide of Richterſweil, we viſited the high bailiff Orell; who inhabits a lofty caſtle, from the balcony of which there is a proſpect that may well excite amazement.

I was glad once more to meet the ſon of Lavater, who is a phyſician at Richterſweil. The laſt time I had ſeen him, he was about eight years old; and I well remember the joy he teſtified at going, with other boys, to learn the uſe of arms. In theſe cantons, mothers do not tremble, when their ſons load and diſcharge a muſket.

In the afternoon, we went upon the lake; though it was rather tempeſtuous. The greateſt part of our company were ſet on ſhore: Sophia, Erneſt, young Lavater, and I, ventured to accompany the boatmen; and to be danced aloft, by the green and foaming wave. They ſpread their ſails, and, in a quarter of an hour, we arrived at the little iſland of Uffenau; which is a league from Richterſweil. It belongs to the abbey of Marieinſiedel,

Marieinſiedel, which, as well as the iſland, is ſituated in and protected by the canton of Schweitz. Zürich alſo lays claim to this right; becauſe the iſland lies on the Zürich ſide of the bridge of Rapperſchweil. There is an old church in the iſland of Uffenau, in which are the remains of Ulrich von Hutten; the worthy Franconian nobleman, a brave knight, the friend of Luther and Melancthon, a zealous patriot, a lover of the muſes, the companion of the great and the learned, and a fugitive to this place.

Here, likewiſe, is ſhewn the grave of Saint Adelrich; who lived in the tenth century. The legend relates of him that he walked over the lake, from Pfeffiken to this iſland. He was a prince of the Swabian race, and endowed this little church with moſt of the tythes of the eaſt ſhore of the lake.

The abbey of Marieinſiedel, which carefully maintained the church of Uffenau before it fell to decay, continues to this day to collect theſe tythes. The ſtate of Zürich ſupports the clergy of theſe communities from the public treaſury; and has lately granted the ſum of one hundred and fifty thouſand florins to increaſe their ſtipend.

There

There is likewiſe a little chapel on this iſland; in which the capuchins of Rapperſchweil read maſs. Here lies the abbot of Marieinſiedel; for whom, in quality of a prince of the German empire, a maſs is annually ſaid. The little town of Rapperſchweil lies oppoſite to the iſland. It was formerly governed by its own Counts; who were frequently moleſted by Zürich. It is now under the protection of the cantons of Zürich, Berne, and Glaris; to which it muſt do homage every ſix years. It may juſtly be eſteemed ſomething between a highly privileged municipal town, and an independent free ſtate.

The building of this town was undertaken in an extraordinary manner. Count Rudolphus of Rapperſchweil, who lived toward the end of the eleventh century, was very deſirous of being happy with his beautiful wife; whoſe virtue was neither unſuſpected by him, nor blameleſs. As he one day returned from the war, his ſteward met him, with a thoughtful mien, before he entered the caſtle; and informed him that he wiſhed to ſpeak to him on a very important affair.

An old chronicle, though later than that

age, puts the following words into the mouth of the Count.

" Say what thou wilt, dear ſteward, only " ſay nothing againſt my wife ; for, wherever " I am, when I bethink me of her beauty, " my ſoul is delighted ; and, whatever cares, " or misfortunes, befall me, when I remember " the lovelineſs of my wife, I forget all my " ſorrows, and am moſt glad to find myſelf " once again at home."

The ſteward, well perceiving that the uxorious warrior would have puniſhed him for his accuſation, gave a ready turn to his diſcourſe ; and told the Count that, during his abſence, he had obſerved a place in which a fortified town might very conveniently be built ; and pointed out this ſpot, on which, in the year 1091, Count Rudolphus built Rapperſchweil.

It pays no tythes, nor any kind of tax, has a free trade, and its burghers are exempt from military ſervice ; unleſs it be for the defence of their town. They may appeal for protection againſt their magiſtrates to the Cantons. They were granted this independence after the war of the year 1712, having then obtained it of the canton of Schweitz.

There

There is a bridge at Rapperſchweil over the lake, which is more than eighteen hundred paces in length. This is the narroweſt part of the lake; and, together with a cape, divides it into the upper lake and the proper lake of Zürich. Albert, the ſecond Archduke of Auſtria, firſt built this bridge. In old times, this was the boundary between the cantons of Zürich and Schweitz; but, after the war of Zürich, which this canton waged againſt the confederates from the year 1436 to the year 1446, when peace was made, Zürich ceded a ſmall corner of land on this ſide of the bridge; which, ſince that period, has belonged to Schweitz. The lake was not mentioned in the treaty. The people of Zürich inſiſted on an excluſive right to the navigation on this ſide of the bridge; which the people of Schweitz diſputed. The great freightage of corn, with which the former ſupplied the latter, and the frequent pilgrimages that were made to Marieinſiedel, gave conſequence to the diſpute. The animoſity between theſe cantons continued, was ſtrengthened by the ſhort war of 1712, and has not yet entirely ſubſided.

That this quarrel will not come to an open

rupture may be reaſonably hoped, from the moderation and wiſdom of the canton of Zürich. The Schweitz perhaps may be the moſt ready to engage in ſuch a contention; notwithſtanding that their numbers are but as one to five: for they are the moſt warlike people of Switzerland. All the cantons are indeed warlike; none but this canton however delights in war. It diſregards numbers, forgets to eſtimate conſequences, is blind to all compariſon of power, and remembers only ſtrength of arm, and valour of heart. In fact, where ſuch are the feelings of each individual, political proportions are inſignificant. This was proved by the three memorable heroes, Walter Fürſt, of Uri, Wetner von Staufacher, of Schweitz, and Arnold von Melchthal, of Unterwald; when, in the year 1307, theſe founders of freedom combined to reſiſt deſpotiſm. It was proved again eight years afterward, when a few freemen vanquiſhed the powers of Duke Leopold at Morgarten; and when, on the ſame day, a part only of the victors drove Count von Straſberg out of Unterwald. It was once more proved by Rudolphus von Erlach, a chief of Berne; who told his ſoldiers that, having fought in

ſix

ſix battles, he had always ſeen the ſmaller number victorious; and who then gave the enemy battle, and with only five thouſand put thirty thouſand of them to flight. What ſhall I ſay of the battle of Sembach? where, in the year 1386, one thouſand three hundred confederates defied the flower of the Auſtrian army; and where Winkelried, oppoſing their moſt fearful phalanx, ſacrificed himſelf, and by death opened the road to victory. What of the battle of Nöffels? where a few of the men of Glaris, led by Matthias von Bürlen, fought five long hours, eleven times beat back the attacking Auſtrians, and, at laſt, gained the victory. What of the people of Baſle? who, in the year 1444, reſiſted the numerous forces of France in the church yard of St. James; where the heaps of ſlain obliged the Dauphin to confeſs that ſuch another victory would be his ruin. What of the victory of the confederates at Granſon, and at Mürten, over Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy? And what of their victories in the war of Swabia, toward the end of the 15th century?

It will not be ſaid that the Swiſs owe their victories to their mountainous ſituation: ſome

of them were gained in the open plains. They are much rather indebted to their ſimplicity of manners, courage, and love of freedom; which frequently diſtinguiſh the inhabitants of mountains from thoſe of flat countries. The love of liberty is a ray from heaven; penetrating the heart of the ſimple ſhepherds of the Alps, and invigorating their arm. It is that which has imparted courage to them, and will ſtill impart; which has maintained their conſtitution theſe five hundred years, and will ſtill maintain. It is that which has inſpired them with the ſpirit of concord, which for ſo many centuries has united ſuch a number of independent ſtates: a concord which but ſeldom, and for a ſhort time, has been interrupted. If in warlike courage the Greeks and Romans were their equals, they riſe ſuperior in generoſity, in mild humanity toward their foes, in concord, and in purity of manners. The paſſions of men every where take root; and ſo will continue to take. Their wild ſeeds every where flouriſh; but here they are moſt ſubdued. The excellence of their morals is the ſupport of the laws; and the ſupport of their morals is the love of their country and religion. Will the names

of

of their noble patriots be leſs famous in hiſtory than the names of the greateſt of the Greeks and Romans? They will yield nothing to them in grandeur of ſoul; though, happily for their country, they will in a ſanguinary thirſt of glory, and in ſeeking for occaſions to appeaſe this thirſt. No artful Pericles, in Switzerland, will be able to kindle a Peloponneſian war. No Virginius will be obliged to ſtrike the dagger to the heart of his daughter; for no Appius will be found daring enough to attempt her chaſtity!

Certain virtues only receive their poliſh by being contraſted with certain vices. Should ever Switzerland produce a Timophanes, or a Cæſar, deliverers of their country would riſe equal to Timoleon and Brutus. Had the Greeks maintained their freedom by concord, Philip of Macedon would have been as inſignificant to them as an abbot of St. Gall to the Swiſs.

From Uffenau we ſailed to Pfeffiken, in the canton of Schweitz; where we joined our company, who had been put on ſhore. I went with young Lavater, the high bailiff Orell, and Erneſt, on foot, to Richterſchweil; and ſaw on our way an uncommonly beau-

tiful waterfall. It is in the canton of Schweitz, on the borders of Zürich. Three impetuous ſtreams, each above the other, ruſh among the bending branches of the trees, from a high cavity of a rock, into the valley. On the height where you ſtand to ſee the cataract, you likewiſe have a full view of the lake of Zürich.

LETTER XIV.

Zürich, 5th September 1791.

DURING my ſtay here, the monument, which the friends and admirers of Solomon Geſſner, the poet, aſſociated to erect to his memory, arrived from Rome. It is the work of Trippel, the famous ſculptor of Schaffhauſen; and is an excellent performance, worthy of the great poet of Zürich, and his fellow citizens.

It conſiſts of a white marble ſlab, about five feet high and four broad: where the two ſhepherds of Geſſner, Daphnis and Micon, are cut

cut in alto relievo; at the inſtant when Micon makes a libation to the memory of the father of his friend. Perhaps you do not recollect this beautiful idyl of Geſſner.

The goat of Daphnis and Micon has ſtrayed from the flock, and waded into a marſh. The ſhepherds endeavour to relieve it; and Micon diſcovers a fallen arch, and learns from Daphnis that it is a ſepulchre. Micon ſees an urn, lying in the hollow; and is terrified at the figures carved round it, which, as he ſays, appear to him to be riſing from its ſides ——" A dreadful warrior and a furious ſteed! Behold how his hoofs trample on the wounded and the fallen! This man could never have been a ſhepherd."

Daphnis replies, " He was a monſter; who laid waſte the fruitful fields, and made freemen ſlaves.——The hoofs of his war horſes have trodden down the corn; and he ſtrewed the barren fields with the bodies of our forefathers. As the ravenous wolf devours the flock, ſo did his warriors deſtroy the innocent; who did him no wrong."

Micon wonders at the wickedneſs and folly of the inhuman wretch; and remarks

that now reptiles ſwarm in the urn and its bed.——

" Who but muſt ſmile to ſee the toad crawling in the helmet of the furious hero; and the blind worm ſeated on his threatening ſword?"

The ſhepherds then converſe awhile on this warrior; and Micon exclaims——" No, rather than be guilty of ſuch odious crimes, though it were to gain a world, I would live the maſter only of two goats, and a pure heart; deteſting ſuch wickedneſs. One of theſe I would willingly ſacrifice to the gods; with thanks, for making me thus happy. Give the wicked the riches of the whole earth, ſtill they are not happy."

" Let us begone;" anſwered Daphnis. " Let us leave a place, which excites only melancholy and bitterneſs. Follow me, I will ſhew thee a different monument, erected by my father, a man of an upright heart."

Daphnis left the herd to Alexis, and led his friend, through meadows, by the grove of Terminus, hung with the cluſtering hop. ——They continued their way. On the right of the narrow path, the graſs reached their knees.

knees. On the left, the corn grew; the ears waving above their ſhoulders. They came to the calm ſhades of fruitful trees; among which a neat cottage ſtood. In this cool and pleaſant place, Daphnis ſpread a ſmall table; and brought a baſket of fruit, and a refreſhing jug of wine.

"Tell me," ſaid Micon, "where is the monument thy father built; that the firſt cup may be emptied to the memory of ſo worthy a man?"

"Here, friend," anſwered Daphnis. "This peaceful abode, what thou now beholdeſt, is the monument of his fame. This was once a barren place; his induſtry made it fruitful; his hand planted theſe orchards; to him our thanks, we, who are his children, and all our deſcendants, for all our enjoyments, for all the good we give and receive, for theſe to him our thanks are due. The bleſſing of the virtuous man reſts upon us; and fructifies theſe fields, theſe meadows, and theſe ſilent groves."

"Here is to thy memory, then, Oh noble ſhade!" ſaid Micon, and emptied his cup. "Oh worthy monument, conducive to the proſperity of virtuous deſcendants, the founder of which though dead is ſtill beneficent!"

It

It seems to me that a better passage could not have been selected from the works of the poet, for the monument erected to his memory: nor could it have been trusted to a more masterly hand than that of Trippel; who, recollecting that his labours were for the honour of a countryman, must have found his faculties roused; and it is evident that he executed his task *con amore*.

At present this monument is placed under a large awning, on the great walk; and it is intended to be erected in a circular grove on this very walk; which is beautiful and much frequented, particularly every Sunday after dinner. In the afternoon on a Thursday, the youth of Zürich are accustomed to assemble here. It is a spacious place, adorned with the linden, poplar, wild ash, and other trees; and lies between the Siehl and the Limmat; which at the end of the walk fall into each other. The minister Bodmer delighted in this walk. I remember having seen him here, surrounded and respected by the young and the old.

LET-

LETTER XV.

Zürich, 7th September 1791.

YESTERDAY afternoon, I and ſome friends took a turn on the lake, and viſited Lavater, who was gone to his country houſe, which is built upon a vine hill, and from which there is a good proſpect toward the lake.

From this, with Sophia and Erneſt, I went to ſee the worthy Jochen Berly; a farmer, in whoſe houſe I and my brother and Haugwitz, ſixteen years ago, ſpent ſeveral cheerful weeks. He was in his fields; and one of his ſons went for him, without informing him who the ſtranger was that waited for him. He knew me, leapt for joy when he ſaw me, preſſed me, my wife, and ſon, by the hand with Swiſs cordiality, and affectionately queſtioned me concerning the companions of my former travels, and my ſiſter; who had viſited him ſeven years ago. He then took me to the banks of the Siehl; for he well recollected my favourite ſpot. I remembered many

many places, where, in the days of ardent youth, I had wandered ſometimes alone, ſometimes with friends. I even recognized a ſtone, hanging over the bank of the river, on which, ſhaded by young trees that were now full grown, I had read many of the books of Homer.

On the other ſide of the river ſtands the Jütlyberg; which Klopſtock named the Uto. It joins the Albis; and is ſhaded with woods and fig trees.

Had I been a Greek, I ſhould have made libations of mild country wine and Switzerland milk to the Naiades, the Dryades, and the Oreades.

The kind man took us back to his dwelling. His wife and children accompanied us a little way, when we departed; and the good houſewife wept heartily, as ſhe preſſed the hand of her old gueſt, at taking leave.

In my former letters, I have mentioned to you the public inſtitutions and buildings of this place: but it may not be unpleaſant to add a few more particulars.

The orphan-houſe is a large and noble building. It ſtands in the fineſt quarter of the town, open on all ſides, and on high ground

ground near the Limmat. The children live in roomy and lofty chambers; and conſiſt both of orphans and the children of poor old perſons ſtill living. The number is not fixed, but varies according to circumſtances: none but the children of burghers are accepted. They are inſtructed in the chriſtian religion, reading, writing, arithmetic, drawing, geography, and the hiſtory of their own country.

Health blooms on their cheeks, good humour and ſatisfaction beam in their eyes. It was delightful to ſee the joy with which they met our guide, Mr. Deacon Geſſner, a worthy and benevolent man, the familiarity with which they ſurrounded the governor and governeſs, and the charming freedom with which they took us ſtrangers by the hand. Twice a day, when the weather permits, they are ſuffered to play a conſiderable while in the garden. So much care is taken of their health, and ſo entirely are theſe children of a free town under the immediate inſpection of the burghers, that, though they admit children of a year old, and though life at this period is ſo precarious, only two children have died in four years. The preſent number of the children is ninety-two; and the numbers of the girls

girls and boys are nearly equal. Our kind Hefs took us to a public female fchool which is called the Töchterfchule*. In a well regulated ftate every citizen beholds the fons and daughters of each other as the fons and daughters of their country.

There are forty girls, divided into two claffes, according to their attainments, and inftructed at the expence of the ftate in religion, reading, writing, arithmetic, and all the female duties. They read in our prefence feveral ftanzas from the poems of Gellert; and it was evident that they had caught the meaning and the paffion of the poet. Their miftrefs then put a few queftions concerning what they had read; to which the girls returned fenfible anfwers.

The minifter Bodmer, whofe patriotifm was as pure as his love of knowledge was ardent, has beftowed ten thoufand florins on this inftitution.

The cathedral of Zürich was built by Charlemagne; whofe effigy, well cut in ftone, is placed over the door. Zuingle and Billinger belonged to this church; which is the

* Daughters' fchool.

mother

mother of many proteſtant daughters, particularly in England.

The arſenal is well ſtored with a hundred pieces of artillery, and complete new ſtands of arms for thirty thouſand men. I, and Erneſt, viſited the old armoury; purpoſely to ſee the ancient armour, and eſpecially the croſs bow of William Tell, which is ſhewn here as a ſacred relic.

There is a ſociety in Zürich, called the Böcke, which has made itſelf memorable in hiſtory. Its origin is loſt, in the darkneſs of the middle ages: but it became famous during the war of Zürich, in the fifteenth century.

Sixteen burghers, who gave themſelves this title with the permiſſion of the republic, ſeparated themſelves from the general ſervice of the war; that, as free archers, they might more effectually annoy the enemy. They mutually pledged themſelves to diſregard life; and, making incurſions, they plundered, burned, and cut off the enemy's convoys. In the year 1446, this ſociety was excluded from the peace of the confederates: but they learned that Frieſen, the high bailiff of Uri, who had vainly given himſelf much trouble to have them included in the peace, had ſaid that, if

they could get any perſon of conſequence in their power, they would then gain what they deſired. Not long after, as this chief was paſſing on the lake of Zürich, the Böcke boarded his veſſel, adviſed his attendants not to make a uſeleſs reſiſtance, as they intended him no harm, took him on ſhore, brought him to the high town of Hohenkraien, which lies in Upper Auſtria between Hohentwiel and Stoffelberge, and which then belonged to them, treated him as a diſtinguiſhed friend, and, as ſoon as the confederates had granted what they had demanded for his freedom, ſuffered him to depart.

This ſociety continued ſome ages in ſocial connection; and, in the beginning of this century, having increaſed to the number of ſixty-four, appeared dangerous to their fellow citizens by their ambition: for, thus combined, they knew how to play the chief offices of the ſtate into the hands of their confederates. They have ſince been reſtrained; and, though the number of their members continues the ſame, they have no political influence; and would probably no longer exiſt, were not their duration continued by an annual feſtival in memory of their paſt deeds.

Another

Another ſociety of ſome years ſtanding, called the Moral Society, is no leſs patriotic and more peaceable. Its members are young men, who take a noble pleaſure in contributing to the paſtimes of children; and invent a variety of ſports and warlike games for them. They likewiſe read entertaining books to them; and write works for their inſtruction. Their purpoſe is the improvement of the heart and underſtanding; and, both in their readings and writings, they are highly attentive to prevent the tedioufneſs of time.

We have here become acquainted with Peſtalozzi; the author of the excellent popular work, called Leonard and Gertrude. He is a burgher of Zürich, but inhabits a farm in the canton of Berne; the produce of which he has for many years increaſed by the ſweat of his brow, till he has brought it into excellent condition. This remarkable man has diſplayed great ſimplicity, power, and knowledge of the human mind; and, in the ſchool of experience, has ſtudied new modes of forming the heart. Nicolovius has viſited him; and, from all that he has heard and ſeen, is more fully convinced than ever that labour and misfortune are beſt calculated to form man, for the noble

taſk of being the inſtructor and benefactor of the human race.

The people of Zürich have an old cuſtom, which they have probably derived from the wiſdom of their anceſtors. If married people, in ſpite of remonſtrance, perſiſt in a deſire to ſeparate, they are confined for ſome weeks in a chamber of the council houſe; in which there is nothing but a ſmall bed, a ſtool, and a table. Their food is ſerved on one diſh; with one plate, one knife, one fork, and one ſpoon. Change of place, privation, and the ſociality that ariſes from the neceſſity of mutually aiding each other, have frequently, before the time of probation has expired, ſo reconciled them to each other that they have renounced all thoughts of parting, and have lived peaceably together till death.

Roman antiquities, which are found in a high part of the town, beſide the Limmat, are proofs that Cæſar had a camp at Zürich*. From the linden trees which are there, it is called the Linden hof. It commands a beautiful proſpect of the Limmat, the lake, and

* Cæſar fought with the Tigurini; an antient tribe, of whom the anceſtors of the people of Zürich were a part; but he did not enter the territories of Zürich.

the

The Grotton Walls.

the mountains. A fountain ornaments one ſide; and a ſtone ſtatue of William Tell the other. His little ſon ſtands beſide him. The father is in a noble attitude, with his croſs bow; which appears rather to reſt upon his arm than upon his ſhoulder.

LETTER XVI.

Lucerne, 12th September 1791.

WE left Zürich on the 9th, by day break. Orion and Sirius were ſtill twinkling. Thick miſts hovered over the lake, ſubſided, and foretold a fine day. The lake was on our left; on our right the foreſt of Siehl, and the Jütlyberg; till we turned and proceeded, by a tolerably ſteep road, to the Albis, which joins the Jütly. On this hill, drivers uſually ſtop to give their horſes breath: we took advantage of this, and mounted to the place called the high watch; which ſtands on the top. This is one of the heights from which fire ſignals are given: a practice common in

Switzerland, on any extraordinary occaſion; by which the confederates are warned. As ſoon as one fire is ſeen, the next is lighted; and, in a few hours, all the watch heights in Switzerland are in a blaze: ſo that, within four-and-twenty hours, all the levies of the confederates are under arms. Diligent and peaceful as bees, who extract the honey from ſcattered flowers, theſe noble people live among their mountains: but, no leſs watchful than the bee, their ſting for thoſe who diſturb their neſt is to be feared. Whoever have attacked them, have repented of their temerity.

As we went up this hill, we had a proſpect of the left ſide of the lake of Zürich; with its charming ſhores, from Zürich to Uffenau. The lake and the diſtant Reuſs were covered with miſts; which thickened into white clouds more denſe than any I had ever ſeen. On the ſhore of the lake, they were rarefied; and, being illumined by the morning ſun, they reminded me of the miſts of Oſſian; which that great ſongſter of nature compares to the floating locks of his beautiful Comala. Half way over the lake, a white downy bed of clouds floated, as thick and ſhining as I have ſeen the ſwelling and white clouds of the ſky,

to

to which imagination attributes fantaſtic forms: now triumphant arches; now lions with outſtretched jaws.

From the height on which we ſtood, the deſcent from the Albis was ſudden and ſteep and formed, with the oppoſite hill, which was covered with pine trees, a beautiful but narrow valley. We viſibly ſaw, though at the diſtance of five or ſix leagues, the Rigi; which is the firſt hill of the neareſt Alps, or the Alps proper, lying near Küſnacht in the canton of Schweitz. In the antient and generally received phraſeology of Europe, thoſe mountains which are eternally covered with ſnow are called the Alps: but not ſo in the dialect of Switzerland; where every hill has that appellation, on the top of which flocks and herds may feed. I ſhall continue to uſe this word in the latter ſenſe, in all my letters from Switzerland.

In my youth, I ſaw, from the ſummit of the Rigi, the ſetting of the ſun over fourteen lakes.

The mountain Pilatus, much higher than the Rigi, appeared to us almoſt as near. His forked rocky back forms one of the moſt conſpicuous mountains in Switzerland. I never

recollect to have ſeen it free from clouds. Sometimes its head is enveloped with them: at others, the ſunbeams play upon its ſummit; while a ſingle or double cloudy ſcarf envelops its breaſt and ſhoulders. Its top is generally cloudy; from whence it derives its name *Pileatus* from the Latin word *pileus*, the hat. Its new and corrupt name has given riſe to legends and fables.

On this hill is a little lake; whoſe waters, as it is ſaid, are ſo light as to make ſwimming in them impoſſible. A thing that may ſo naturally be accounted for has been aſcribed to the ghoſt of Pilate; who, ſay they, having drowned himſelf here, took pleaſure in ſeizing the ſwimmers by the feet. The truth is, as I have been informed by General Pfyffer, he found the water only a foot deep; and did not believe it was any where deeper.

It lies at leaſt eleven leagues from the Albis. The glaciers beamed at a great diſtance; which we, miſled by our conductors, ſuppoſed to be the mountains of Neufchatel: but General Pfyffer has told me, who perhaps is better acquainted with theſe heights than any man in Switzerland, that they are the glaciers of Savoy, neareſt to Geneva. Not Mont Blanc,

the

the ſummit of which, though the higheſt in Europe, is concealed by nearer hills.

We paſſed through a variegated country, among orchards and over plains, till we came to Zug. Kappel, a ſmall place, lay in our way; where a battle was fought, in the year 1531, between the people of Zürich and Schweitz; in which Zuingle, a zealous patriot and mild reformer, was ſlain.

The ſmall town of Zug gives its name to the ſeventh and leaſt of the cantons. It is diſtinguiſhed from the other democratic cantons, by having a town: for the inhabitants of the others, from their love of freedom, and after the manner of the antient Germans, do not chooſe to live in towns ſurrounded by walls. The people of Schweitz, Uri, Unterwald, Glaris, and Appenzel, have no towns.

The adminiſtration of public affairs, in the canton of Zug, is partial. There is a general aſſembly of the town; and likewiſe the individual general aſſembly of the three villages, Baar, Egeri, and Mentzing. In theſe four general aſſemblies, which are democratic, all foreign affairs of war, peace, and alliance, are determined. Thoſe reſolutions in which the villages are agreed are likewiſe binding to the

town. Should the aſſemblies divide, two and two, the opinion in favour of which the town declares prevails.

The Ammann, who is not here, as in the other ſmall cantons, called Landammann, is choſen in the town; not by the aſſembly, but by forty counſellors. To this council the town ſends thirteen deputies; and each of the three villages nine. It is a ſtanding rule that the Ammann muſt be a native of the town, or of one of the villages. If of the town, he holds his office three years; if from a village, only two years. The council of forty likewiſe appoint the high bailiffs; who govern thoſe villages that have no ſhare in the public adminiſtration of affairs. The ſubjects of the ſtate, except ſome ſmall taxes to the high bailiff, pay only the church tythes: like the *Angehörigen* * of Berne and Zürich. I ſay the Angehörigen: for the citizens of Berne and Zürich begin to reject the odious name of *Unterthanen* †, and aſſume the milder appellation *Angehörigen*. That the Angehörigen of the ariſtocratical cantons, eſpecially of Zürich and Berne, enjoy a more calm freedom and a better adminiſtration of juſtice than the Unterthanen of

* Belonging to. † Subjects.

the

the democratic cantons is an undoubted truth. This is clearly manifeſted in the bailiwicks which belong to the eight old cantons; or to all the twelve in common: for as to the thirteenth canton, Appenzel, it has no Unterthanen. The general bailiwicks are governed by high bailiffs; who continue in office ſix years, and who are alternately choſen by the cantons. Complaints are ſeldom made againſt the bailiffs of the ariſtocratic cantons, though frequently againſt the democratic, at the general aſſembly of Frauenfeld.

The people of Zug are held to be the moſt reſtleſs of Switzerland. Their general aſſemblies are often tempeſtuous, though ſeldom ſtained with the blood of their citizens.

This town is built under a mountain, and on the north eaſt ſide of a lake; both bearing the ſame name. The lake is four leagues long, and one broad. Its ſituation, between the Alps and other high mountains, is inexpreſſibly beautiful. The Rigi and the Pilatus appear to lie on its very ſhore. The country is rich in paſturage; and the meadows are as beautiful as any in Switzerland. On one ſide of the lake, there is a grove of fine cheſnut trees. The people of Zug, and moſt of the inhabitants

tants of the ſmall cantons, when the harveſt among the mountains fails, generally uſe fern in winter inſtead of ſtraw. I have heard experienced farmers of the canton of Berne maintain that the manure of fern is better than that of ſtraw. If this aſſertion be true, it may ſo happen either from the nature of the ſoil or of the fern of theſe parts. With us, fern is only uſed in caſes of neceſſity.

The wine of the canton of Zug is very acid; while that of Zürich is both mild and powerful.

The cantons of Zug and Lucerne have plenty of various kinds of ſtone fruit, as well as walnuts, and cheſnuts. The fine growth of the cheſnut tree, which delights in a mild climate, verifies the cooling influence which is aſcribed to the neighbouring mountains, and to their ſituation beſide the lake. The canton of Lucerne is uncommonly fertile. The meadows and woods, in which I ſaw the beech as high and flexible as in Holſtein and the ſouth eaſt ſide of the duchy of Sleſwick, are now as green and freſh as in ſpring. The fertility of the ſoil, the mildneſs of the climate, the gentle breezes from the hills, and the frequent morning miſts, maintain this freſhneſs longer here than

than in the north of Germany; and among our ſtill more northern neighbours; where ſometimes the night froſts, and at others the extreme heat of the long ſummer's day, together with unfriendly ſtorms, impart a more dark and leſs lovely verdure. We every where beheld fruitful valleys, clothed with luxuriant herbage, and various flowers. Before us ſtood the Rigi, and the Pilatus; the delightful Reuſs flowed on our right. How different is it here, where its broad waters roll through pleaſant vales, to that boiſterous impetuous Reuſs which precipitates its thundering ſtream from the Gothard, beneath the Devil's bridge!

We have often laughed, you know, at French travellers; who give their readers a deſcription of every meal they make: but you will ſcarcely accuſe me of this fault, though I ſhould tell you that we made a halt on the verdant banks of the Reuſs; and, ſitting under the ſhade of overhanging orchards, with the lofty Pilatus in view, ate milk, brought by kind and beautiful girls. The people of Zug and Lucerne are very handſome, both in face and form. What our old poet, Walter, has ſaid of Germans in general is particularly applicable

to

to our brothers of moſt of the cantons among the Alps.

> Der deutſche mann iſt wohlgezõgen,
> Und wohlgethan das deutſche weib * !

Freedom and openneſs of manners characterize this noble and beautiful people; who, among their mountains, friendly, dignified, and unaffected, exerciſe that virtue, which the Romans and Greeks ſuppoſed was only to be found in cities; and which they called urbanity: αϙειοτης, and *urbanitas*: and which we, having apiſhly imitated, have from courts called courteſy †. The unenſlaved ſhepherds are free in their advances; becauſe they cannot ſuſpect, where there is nothing to fear. They approach with a grace; for, as they want for nothing, they aſk for nothing. They love, and are beloved by, ſtrangers. Perhaps they love them becauſe they have a feeling of their own ſuperiority, and are flattered by the frequent viſits of travellers; who come

* The German man is well-limbed; (well built;) and well formed the German woman.

† A note is omitted relative to the German and French uſe of the words *Stadtlichkeit* and *Courtoiſie*, becauſe it would be unintereſting and not very intelligible to an Engliſh reader. T.

among

among them that they may contemplate the grandeur of nature, and the freemen of Switzerland. That landlords and guides, who live by ſtrangers, ſhould covet the money of ſtrangers is a thing to be expected: but he who accuſes the inhabitants of Switzerland of this vice has had no intercourſe with the people of the towns or the country. He has not eaten in the cabins of the ſimple ſhepherds of the Alps, nor ſlept under the flat roofs of their huts, on the fragrant hay, more ſoundly than on beds of down. Such travellers have forborne to bluſh, with the dignity of feeling, when their friendly hoſt has refuſed to accept money for his hoſpitality; or, at the utmoſt, would receive nothing from a ſtranger, except a roll of tobacco. This hoſpitality I ſhall never forget. I experienced it in my firſt journey among the Swiſs, and the Griſons; and know where again to look for that humanity, which originates in a delicate ſenſe of what is noble and what is ignoble.

The countries through which we continued our journey were delightful; and we arrived at Lucerne as the night was ſetting in.

On the morning of the 10th, we went upon the great bridge over the Reuſs; which is near its

its junction with the lake. It is covered at the top, after the manner of the country, but open at its ſides. Here are numerous proſpects, ſupremely beautiful. In my opinion, no town in Switzerland is ſo charmingly ſituated as Lucerne. Lovely hills, mingled with groves of pine, and other trees, overlook the town, and the neighbouring ſhore of the lake of the four Walſtädte. Behind theſe hills, the Alps are ſeen; and beyond them more diſtant and higher mountains, riſing to the clouds. The Reuſs pours its waters into the lake, with its accuſtomed impetuoſity. It is navigable; and, by means of the Aar, maintains a trade between Baden and Switzerland; ſo paſſing to the Rhine; and might open a more valuable intercourſe with Holland. Beſide, the neareſt road to Italy is over the Gothard; the foot of which ſtretches almoſt as far as Altorf, in the canton of Uri, on the ſouth ſhore of the lake. But the canton of Lucerne, like moſt of the catholic cantons, is deficient in induſtry. From its ſituation, which is much more convenient than that of Zürich, and from thoſe advantages which are denied Geneva by its jealous neighbours, Lucerne might be the firſt commercial town of Switzerland.

Yet

Yet what compariſon is there between the inconſiderable trade of Lucerne and that of Zürich or Geneva?

Its product, in corn, is more than ſufficient for its own conſumption: but, at the peace of 1712, when it had required aid from Uri, Schweitz, and Unterwald, againſt the proteſtant cantons, it bound itſelf ever afterward to ſell corn to the burghers of theſe cantons at the price paid by its own citizens. This convention is in itſelf good: and in the true ſpirit of the confederacy. Brothers ought not to depend on the caprice of brothers, for that which is neceſſary for their exiſtence. But it was weak of theſe people, at the ſame time, to be induced by threats to promiſe never to fortify their town. It is excellent for a free people, like thoſe of antient Sparta and of theſe ſmall cantons, to diſdain the ſafeguard of walls; for a rule ſo daring, and ſo dignified, gives life and ſecurity to freedom: but, when a town forbears to build walls becauſe it is menaced, it will appear that it has need of them.

This ſtipulation was made in an unlucky hour, perhaps by an unenlightened government; and it may be aſked whether any pro-

miſe can be binding on a people, the evident tendency of which is their political injury?

Perhaps it was this, though degrading, yet, honourable obſervance of old engagements, which ſo long held the people of Lucerne dependant on Auſtria. They waged, in behalf of their oppreſſors, and without receiving any aid from them, a ruinous war againſt the cantons of Schweitz, Uri, and Unterwald; which war not only deſtroyed their trade but involved them in inſupportable expences. Of old and often has the houſe of Auſtria incurred the reproach of forfeiting its engagements, when they were moſt indiſpenſible. Lucerne, juſtly offended, renounced an ally that, though very expenſive, afforded no aid; and, in the year 1352, united itſelf with the other confederates; and, by its courage and love of freedom, ſhewed itſelf worthy of that noble alliance which virtuous nations form with each other.

The deeds of their anceſtors are painted on the great bridge; and, poor as the pictures are, they gave me pleaſure. They muſt not be conſidered as works of art; but, as records of memorable acts, are highly honourable; for they nurture a glowing love of freedom. I might reply to any unſeaſonable critic in the words

words of Shakſpeare; when the courtiers, in the Midſummer Night's Dream, were deſpiſing the rude dialogue of Moonſhine and Wall; and when Theſeus made them this remarkable anſwer — "The beſt of this kind are but ſhadows; and the worſt of them are not worſe, if imagination amend them."

On a leſs bridge, over the Reuſs, which lies at a greater diſtance, are paintings that bear ſome reſemblance to Holbein's Dance of Death; as it may be ſeen in Baſle, and Lubeck. It was the old German cuſtom to mingle the moſt ſerious ſubjects and the moſt ludicrous vagaries.

From this place we went to viſit General Pfyffer; a lieutenant-general in the French ſervice, and a native of Lucerne; who has employed twenty years upon a model of Switzerland. He has worked from his own town as from a centre; for it is nearly in the centre of the country. He undertook his work with intelligence; and has continued it with admirable dexterity, and fortitude. This model, the ſize of which is vaſt, contains two hundred and twenty ſquare leagues. Hills and valleys keep their due place, and proportion; and we are amazed to find that the Albis, which we had

ſuppoſed ſo large a mountain, compared to the Rigi was quite inſignificant: that this again is trifling to the Pilatus; and that the Pilatus itſelf is much inferior to the ridge of Glaciers, which with their lofty heads ſtretch from the Kriſpalt, where the Rhine takes its riſe, and extend to the mountains of Savoy. Theſe laſt are not in the model; but the Kriſpalt is; and a part of the Gothard, which is by no means ſo lofty. Each high road, each foot path that leads over the mountains, each waterfall, river, and bridge, each town and village, nay every houſe has its place in the model. The difference between pine foreſts and other woods is even diſtinguiſhable.

The difficulties he has encountered may eaſily be imagined, where every hill and valley is accurately laid down, and where a ſingle rock, or a hedge will often take him as much time as a mountain; or a foreſt. Theſe difficulties were increaſed by the jealouſy of the little cantons, in behalf of their freedom: for they often interrupted and prevented him, from the fear that his plans might be uſeful to an enemy. Many of them therefore were taken by moonlight. Valleys and mountains, which had been ſuppoſed impaſſable, were viſited by

this indefatigable man; who was above fifty years old when he began the work. His induſtry and art are alike conſpicuous. His material is maſtic, to which he gives the natural colours of objects. I ſuppoſed that his pines were made out of *ſcoria:* he ſmiled, went into his cabinet, and came back with a cotton nightcap on his head that was rough and downy. "With down like this," ſaid he, "which I coat with maſtic, I make the foreſts of pine that you perceive."

On that ſide where he has placed his ſouthern mountains, he has erected a ſmall ſcaffold, at a diſtance; which he aſcends by ſteps. From this, a view of the whole work may beſt be taken. Here I beheld, in miniature, what I had formerly ſeen from the Hochwang: (a mountain in the country of the Griſons:) the mountains of Tyrol on the right, the Gothard on the left, and between them numberleſs mountain tops that filled up the ſpacious interval.

He likewiſe ſhewed us a picture of Henry IV of France, on horſeback, painted on canvas; which had been found in the Reuſs, in which river it had probably long been buried. During eight days that it was drying, an almoſt

inſupportable ſtench exhaled from it; yet the colours are not wholly gone. The date marked on it is 1601. Henry is painted with the armour which he preſented to the people of Soleure, and which they ſtill keep in their armoury.

General Pfyffer is a pleaſant, animated, old man; nearly eighty years of age. He informed us of the nature of the Rigi; which appears to conſiſt wholly of little flints. Theſe, it is ſuppoſed, have been waſhed by ſome great floods, probably the deluge, from ſuperior mountains; and may have formed the Rigi. Petrified muſcles are found on the Pilatus; as they are upon ſo many other mountains; where we likewiſe often find the forms and impreſſions of various fiſh in ſtone.

In the afternoon, we made a trip on the lake to Stansſtadt; in the canton of Unterwald. From the ſhore we ſaw the Alps proper. Moſt of them were loaded above with pines; and below with various green trees. The herdſmen feed their cattle on the tops of theſe mountains; during June, July, and Auguſt. In ſpring, and autumn, they graze on leſſer heights; or in valleys. Their cabins upon the Alps are called Sennhütten; and a herdſman

man with his family, flock, and hut, a Sennerrey. Here they make their cheese, and butter; which, at the end of the week, they bring to sell among the villages.

Trees of walnut and various fruits are planted on the shores of the lake. On the sides of the hills, small beech trees grow among the steep saliant rocks; and, from the cliffs of these, tall pines rise, or hanging woods: while country seats, and houses dispersed, give the foreground a variety the pleasure of which is greatly heightened by the towering presence of the Alps. On these mountains, the dun verdure of pine forests is intermingled with plats of emerald green; which, by the mild reflection of the morning and evening horizon, produce a peculiar effect on the eye. The Pilatus, the Rigi, and the Bürgenberg, rise one above the other; and beyond them lofty mountains still more gigantic. We landed at Stansstadt, a small village of Unterwald, half a league from Stanz; which is the chief place of the canton. Men, women, and children, came round us; and handed us on shore, as if we had been known and expected guests.

Unterwald is divided into two communities; which are called Oberwald, and Unter-

wald. Each has its landammann, its council, and its general aſſembly; but, in the general affairs of the thirteen cantons, they form only one canton.

Of all the people of Switzerland, thoſe of Unterwald are perhaps moſt honoured and loved by the other cantons: for, to the courage and zeal for liberty diſplayed by Arnold von Melchtahl, they join the amiable concord and ſimplicity of their no leſs great countryman Nicholas von der Flüe.

This worthy man had lived twenty years a hermit, ſerving God in calm retirement, when, toward the end of the fifteenth century, the people of Freiburg and Soleure were accepted as part of the confederate cantons. This was very agreeable to the ariſtocratic cantons; but not to the democratic: who, dreading the increaſe of power of the former, had nearly involved the whole in a dangerous conteſt. An aſſembly of the deputies of the confederates was held at Stanz; and was very tempeſtuous. A clergyman of Stanz went to Nicholas von der Flüe (that is of the rocks) and entreated him to come and appeaſe their violence. He came, reminded them of their common victories, which ſacred concord only had obtained

for

for them, moved them by his eloquence, quieted the apprehenſions of the democrats, perſuaded them to accept Freiburg and Soleure among the confederate cantons, and, having ſeen them all mingle and embrace as brothers, he returned to his hermitage; bleſſing God, and bleſſed by the people he had ſerved. His memory is revered in Unterwald. They regard him as their ſaint; and every child can relate ſomething of brother Klaus: for that is the name by which he is familiarly known.

Beyond Stansſtadt, lies a fruitful vale of meadows, ſurrounded by hills, which, after the manner of the country, is planted with walnut trees; the largeſt I have ever ſeen. The vicinity of a rocky hill, covered with leafy trees, enticed us to its ſhade; where my ſon diſcovered a waterfall, to which we went. Down this overhanging moſſy rock the water, in various ſtreams, hurries; and, falling upon a jutting ſtone, rolls afterward foaming among in the flints to a deep valley.

On this part of the hill is a rocky cavity, hung round with bruſh wood. We climbed up the rock, till we could touch the water as it was deſcending through the air. Here we diſcovered a cliff, which ſeemed to have been

formed by nature for a moſt delightful hermitage. The entrance, which is ſufficiently large, is overhung with buſhes: and, when within, the waterfall, the whole of the mountain Pilatus, and through a ſmall opening ſideway the horizon, may be ſeen. If man would enjoy the earth, he muſt be able to look up to heaven. This cave is wild, and bold. Here and here, the linden tree finds a place among niches and cliffs; while its bending branches hang much lower than its roots. I never remember to have ſeen a place that I contemplated with more pleaſure, or left with more regret.

On our return, we occaſionally met a man or a woman; who accoſted us as they came up, and converſed in the moſt unaffected friendly manner.

We returned to our veſſel; and had not proceeded far before the twilight of the diſtant hills began to brighten; and, above the dark pines of the Bürgenberg of Unterwald, the moon was ſeen riſing. You are acquainted with the tender effect produced, on land and water, by her light; but you muſt have ſeen her among mountains like theſe, where, even during her abſence, the varieties of ſhadow among the hills and valleys produce an ever variable

variable ſcene, to have had a full conception of her power. The ſky, and the mountain Pilatus, were cloudleſs, and the moon gradually reproduced the diſtant mountains and the lake, which had diſappeared at the cloſe of day. The bells, round the necks of cattle, were heard from the Alps: ſounds that give peculiar pleaſure to their inhabitants. They are the only harmleſs luxury of a people among whom luxury is unknown. Many a favourite cow bears a large bell about her neck; which often is worth twice as much as herſelf, and which often has been the ornament of the ſucceſſive herd. Theſe bells are neceſſary: for, when a ſingle cow or a whole herd ſhall have ſtrayed, by their ſound they are not only recovered by the herdſman, but they find each other.

The ſhore, between Stansſtadt and Lucerne, is variegated with ſmall beech trees, jutting little hills, and bold rocks, that catch the eye. Shrubs are ſcattered among the cliffs; and pine ſucceeds to pine, bearing their tops toward the clouds. Can you not form to yourſelf ſome faint idea of the delightful ſpectacle, which theſe objects, the moon, and the lake afforded?

We have devoted to-day and yeſterday to a ſurvey

a ſurvey of the beautiful lake, and its ſhore. The ſame fine weather which hitherto has accompanied us on our journey was our attendant over the lake, on our viſit to the ſaint of Switzerland. As I ſhall often have occaſion to mention William Tell in theſe letters, I will give you his hiſtory in a few words. Geſsler, the Auſtrian governor, who lived at Küſnacht in the canton of Schweitz, in order to break the independent ſpirit of the people of Uri, had hung his hat upon a lance, at Altorf; and had given orders that all who paſſed it ſhould be uncovered, in token of ſubjection. William Tell, an inhabitant of Schacherthals near Altorf, paſſed the hat, and omitted the ceremony. When Geſsler came to Altorf, to hold a court of juſtice for the canton of Uri, complaints were lodged againſt Tell for diſobedience. The accuſed boldly declared he would not bow to a hat without a head. The governor, or *Zwingherr**, for this was the ſignificant title given by the people of Switzerland to the Auſtrian governor, condemned Tell to ſhoot an apple from the head of his ſon. Thus compelled, Tell brought his ſon, reſolutely took aim, hit the apple, and did not

* Zwing is to force: herr is lord. T.

hurt

hurt the boy. Being aſked by the governor why he had brought another arrow, he at firſt alleged the uſe of arms as his reaſon; but, being preſſed, he replied: "Had I ſtruck my child, I would have buried this in your heart."

The governor put him in fetters; and took him on board his boat, to bring him to Küſnacht. A ſtorm came on, and the boatmen expected to be loſt, unleſs Tell, who was an excellent pilot, would ſteer: for the deep ſhores of theſe lakes have few landing places; and ſtorms, coming from the mountains, are ſudden and often dangerous. Tell was releaſed, and put to the helm. While ſteering, he thought of the means of eſcape. As he approached the ſhore, he perceived a projecting ſtone, on which he leapt, and with his foot puſhed the boat back to the lake; then, taking an unfrequented path, he haſtened to Küſnacht. Geſsler likewiſe came there; and mounted his horſe, to ride to his caſtle. Tell, in ambuſh, waylaid him; and ſhot him from his horſe.

We intended to paſs along the lake as far as Flüele: but we firſt viſited Küſnacht; the place where the *Zwingherr* fell.

We proceeded along a fertile, mild, riſing ſhore

ſhore on the north of the lake; where many of the inhabitants of Lucerne have pleaſant country houſes. We ſaw the ruins of a hunting caſtle of the ancient Counts of Habſburg: for this is the name it bears, after its former poſſeſſors; though this family muſt not be confounded with the houſe of Auſtria. It lies near Schinznach, in the canton of Berne. Immediately afterward, we perceived, behind two ſmall inſulated rocks, one decorated with a croſs the other with a chapel, the little iſland of Altſtadt; where, near the remains of a granary, the Abbé Raynal had projected to erect an obeliſk, with a Latin inſcription, to the memory of the three great men, who firſt bound themſelves by oath to the cauſe of freedom. The place where this confederacy began is in the canton of Uri. I ſhall ſay more of it hereafter. Raynal, by the intermiſſion of the Landammann, Minter, in the year 1780, endeavoured to gain permiſſion of the canton to erect his monument: but the wary people of Uri ſhewed no inclination to grant his requeſt.

"It was their opinion," ſaid a Swiſs writer, "that there never will be any occaſion for a "monument of ſtone, while the confederates "ſhall think as they do at preſent; and while

"every

" every Swiſs, the firſt time he ſhall ſail paſt " Grütlin, and, landing, ſhall be ſhewn the " honourable place where the freedom of " Switzerland was planned, ſhall bleſs his an- " ceſtors, thank his God, congratulate himſelf, " and feel that he is free. And, ſhould our " deſcendants forget theſe feelings, which we " hope they never will, ſuch a monument " would be as uſeleſs, to the confederates, as, " in the decline of the republic, the monu- " ments of Rome were to the enſlaved Ro- " mans *."

Not perceiving in the anſwer any poſitive refuſal, the Abbé perſiſted in his deſign: but, finding ſome trouble with the proprietor of the ſpot where he intended to erect his obeliſk, he fixed upon another cloſe by, called Treib. Offended at the people of Uri, he aſked and obtained permiſſion of the government of Lucerne to erect his monument on the little iſland where it ſtands. It is a ſmall inſignificant obeliſk; and its appearance is the more paltry from the neighbourhood of the granary. Such a monument, with its Latin inſcription, may indeed bear as much pro-

* Schweitzer muſeum: v. J. 1783.

portion

portion to the event it is meant to celebrate as the Abbé himſelf to the three heroes, who laid the foundation of a government which, for five hundred years, has been a bleſſing to the people that enjoy it, and an honour to the human race*.

We landed at Küſnacht, and walked to the ſtreet which is called the Hohlengaſſe; which is the narrow way through which the governor rode. They ſhewed us the place where Tell ſtood when he ſhot him. A chapel is built over the ſpot where Geſsler fell; in which a ſolemn maſs is annually performed. Over the entrance are theſe lines:

Hier iſt Geſslers hochmut vom Tell erſchoſſen,
Und der Schwyzer edle freiheit entſproſſen;
Wie lang wird aber ſolche währen?
Noch lang wenn wir die alte wären†.

Such is the reverence for their anceſtors, ſuch the caution, ſuch the ſacred ſpirit of freedom, which characterize theſe happy people.

* The Baron is a truly liberal minded man, ſometimes: 'tis pity he is not ſo always. T.

† Here the arrogant Geſsler was ſhot by Tell:
And the noble freedom of Switzerland took birth.
But how long will it endure?
For ever, did we but reſemble our forefathers.

We

We viſited the ruins of the tower of the *Zwingherr;* which ſtill are ſtanding. Before we arrived, we ſaw, from a ſmall eminence, on one ſide the lake and the hill of Zug, and on the other the Rigi, and the lake of the four Walſtädte. Küſnacht is a bailiwick, ſubject to the canton of Schweitz; and is inhabited by many of the democratic peaſants of that canton.

We again took boat. The green waves of the lake were as clear as cryſtal, and we could ſee ſome fathoms deep through its emerald waters, quite to the bottom. The depth in many parts is extraordinary; and, according to the account of our boatman, frequently as much as ſix hundred fathoms, between Brunnen and Altorf. It is generally overlooked by the Alps; which are loaded with the beech, the cheſnut, the pine, and other green trees; ſome growing on the ſummit, others on the ſide. Here and there a houſe is ſeen. At one time, a narrow foot path winds beſide the lake: at another, the rocky foot of the mountains ſtretches out, and ſinks perpendicularly into the deep: the ever verdant paſtures of the mountains intermingle with the dark green of the pine. Here ſtands a herdſman's ſennerey; and there, between rocks, a hermit's ſolitary habitation,

habitation. On the daring and tremendous cliff, houſes, and often churches, which ſeem to be inacceſſible, are built. The imagination ſcarcely can conceive there is ſafety for men, on theſe bold projecting crags: nor can we but tremble, leſt children, if they ſet foot out of doors, ſhould tumble headlong into the lake. Yet continually whole villages hang, as it were, between the rocks and the lake. The ſpires of churches, which in open countries would be ſeen to a great diſtance, regarded from the lake, appear as inſignificant as ſo many ninepins. Flint ſtones mark the paſſage of the ſnow rivulets; which ruſh down during the ſpring, but of which natural beauty we muſt now be deprived. The monſtrous crags, down which they hurry, and on whoſe leafy tops the *Sorbus*, with its red berries, nods its head, denote their impetuoſity.

Higher mountains, with their bold round backs, riſe behind the Alps: and every where, from the middle of the lake, proſpects equally aſtoniſhing are ſeen. The eye frequently catches a glimpſe of the diſtant glaciers, though concealed by the intervening mountains.

Between two long promontories, called the Naſen, the land declines, and intrudes upon the

the lake; which there becomes narrowed. As we paſſed this place, we viſited the little free ſtate of Gerſau. At peace with the whole world, honoured by the confederates, its inhabitants live beſide the lake, under a ſingle Alp, which conſtitutes their whole empire: a harmleſs united people; who have heroically combated for the freedom of themſelves and their allies.

This ſtate contains nine hundred ſouls: between two and three hundred of whom conſtitute their general aſſembly. Like the democratic cantons, they every year chooſe two Landammanne; who are at the head of the council and the executive government. The council conſiſts of nine perſons; who, like the counſellors of the confederacy, enjoy their dignity for life.

In the year 1359, Gerſau entered into alliance with the four Wäldſtädten *, Schweitz, Uri, Unterwald, and Lucerne. Gerſau is no canton; and, probably becauſe it is ſo ſmall,

* Literally, Foreſt-towns: but Schweitz, Uri, and Unterwald, like Glaris and Appenzel, have no towns. *Stadt* here ſignifies not town, but free ſtate; πολις, *civitas*, *cité*. *Wald* means a woody mountain. Thus we ſay Thüringerwald, and Schwarzwald.

ſends no deputies to the general aſſembly; nor has any ſhare in the general government of Switzerland. In certain caſes, there is an appeal from their own council, either to Schweitz or Lucerne: the choice is in the appellant. They have not condeſcended to this appeal from weakneſs; but probably from a juſt confidence in their neighbours, and becauſe they might perceive danger to property, if the firſt ſentence were deciſive. Safety and freedom might be mere names, where the deciſion of a judge, often partial and always liable to error, ſhould not be revocable by the general aſſembly. In ſhort, they ſaw that the maker of law and the judge of law could not be united in the ſame perſon, without danger of tyranny; they therefore reſerved to themſelves the power of appeal. The power of legiſlating, declaring war, making treaties, and chooſing their Landammanne, is in the people. They might wiſely have remembered (for the founders of little ſtates maturely reflect, while the founders of great too often ſport with the welfare of mankind)—I ſay, hey might have remembered that, being ſo few in number, neighbourhood, kindred, and friendſhip might influence the judge; and, if they

they even ſhould not, might occaſion him to be ſuſpected. For this reaſon, they referred the confirmation of their own ſentence to foreign judges.

Many will laugh at me, for this long deſcription of ſo ſmall a tribe. Thoſe who eſtimate lands by their exent, and people by their numbers, will certainly overlook Gerſau; but you, I think, will not.

We next perceived the little town of Brunnen; and, beyond it, Schweitz, lying between its two great rocks called the Haken: it is the chief place of the canton of the ſame name. We continued ſailing ſome leagues, while the lake ſtill grew narrower; and were delighted by the tall beech, aſh, and pine, which hang in an inconceivable manner out of the ſteep rocks of the upright ſhore, in the cavities of which they take root. Here the land forms a cape; at the point of which there is a prodigious rock, that has fallen into the lake: where, at ſome diſtance from the land, it ſtands erect like a watch tower. Some pines grow on its top; with a large withered oak, which has decayed for want of ſoil. Two cranes were ſtanding on the rock; which took flight at our approach.

Having paſſed this crag, other ſcenes are preſent. Rocks of various figures riſe towering to the eye. The proſpect continually changes; and, as you ſail on, that which appeared the neareſt gives place to that which you ſuppoſed the fartheſt off. The end of the lake is ſeen; and beyond it the hills which conceal the Gothard. Thoſe who have never viſited Switzerland, and have no other conception of the Alps than by compariſon with the hills of their own country, will certainly have a leſs juſt idea of theſe ſcenes than thoſe who, never having ſeen mountains, indulge in the adventurous flights of imagination. Nature here boldly ſtretches, far beyond her common limits, and her general prudence. Pleaſure is continually maintained, by an aſſemblage of the beautiful, the terrible, and the ſublime.

Beſide us, we ſaw the Grütlin; and, on the oppoſite coaſt, we viſited the chapel of Tell, in the canton of Uri, ſtanding on the ſpot where he ſprang out of the boat, and drove it with his foot from the ſhore. There is a ſolemn proceſſion annually made here. Maſs is read; and a ſermon is preached, on the origin of freedom. Theſe paſtoral people delight in

ſuch monuments, which awaken and ſanctify in them the love of freedom. The neighbouring ſteep rocks are adorned by nature with flowers, and gaily ſpringing evergreens. Among them, fearful cavities are ſeen: while goats graze on their dreadful cliffs, and here and there a crane peeps from among the thick and inacceſſible buſhes.

We came to Flüele, at the end of the lake, ſoon enough to go to Altorf; which is half a league farther. We paſſed through a fertile valley, among numerous amphitheatres; formed by the mountains and the prodigious rocks; and reached Altorf about twilight. This is the chief place of the canton of Uri; and here the general aſſembly meet, on the firſt Sunday in May. The canton of Uri is divided into ten confederacies: or, as a German would call them, ten circles: from each of which, ſix of their burghers are choſen, as counſellors. Theſe ſixty counſellors, as in the other democratic cantons, enjoy their office for life. Once in two years, two Landammanne are elected: each of which has his year of adminiſtration. To the one in office, is added a deputy; called a Statthalter. The general aſſembly enacts, alters, and repeals laws, forms alliances, and

makes war and peace. This conſtitution is common to all the democratic cantons.

The people of Uri have two colleges *; the members of which are counſellors; and two courts of juſtice; civil, and criminal. An appeal lies to the general council: but, in this caſe, a citizen is added to each counſellor. The general aſſembly takes no cognizance of legal proceedings.

In times when through all Europe the legiſlative and executive power were either not ſufficiently ſeparated, or entirely confounded, the ſimple inhabitants of the Alps diſcovered more wiſdom than either Greece or Rome.

Each youth of Uri enjoys the right of citizenſhip at fourteen. The number of armed citizens is above three thouſand: but this is not the whole amount of men able to bear arms. The fruitful valley of Liviner, which lies beyond the Gothard, and is inhabited by Italians, is ſubject to Uri. Three other Italian diſtricts, Riviera, Pollenz, and Bellenz, are ſubject to Uri, Schweitz, and Unterwald: as likewiſe are Meynthal, Mendris, Lugano, and Locarno, to the eleven other cantons. Ap-

* Political, not academical, inſtitutions. T.

penzel

penzel only has no part in these districts; and, with the noble Persian, Otanes, may *boast* that they neither govern nor are governed. From the Italian high bailiffs, who are each of them named by the canton to which the districts they govern are subject, the people have an appeal to the general assembly of Locarno *. I believe, I have somewhere said that the high bailiffs, appointed by the democratic cantons, are not always just in their decisions. They often pay a great sum for their places: for, according to an old bad custom, they frequently pay the burghers of the general assembly for their vote; which is the origin of much evil. The virtuous are not preferred to the wealthy: nor have the good sufficient influence; for little attention is paid to the complaints which are carried to the assembly of Locarno. A magistrate, who is shameless enough to purchase his dignity, will not afterward scruple to repay himself, by the sale of justice. Were not abuses of this kind common, the people of these districts would be as prosperous as those of Berne, Zürich, Basle, Lucerne, and Schaffhausen; for, like them, they pay no taxes except tythes in kind.

* Or Logarno.

The democratic burghers, who are all country people, pay ſcarcely any taxes: the ſame may be ſaid of the inhabitants of the ſmall cantons; and of the country of the Griſons and Valais.

The people of the valley of Liviner, near the Gothard, from which the Reuſs runs down a precipice under the Devil's bridge, are ſo far dependant on Uri, that the inhabitants have an appeal from their own court to the canton. Yet they have their ſmall general aſſemblies; though all that relates to foreign affairs muſt be ſubject to reviſal at Uri. Early in the morning, we went to Bürgli; which is half a league from Altorf, in the valley of Schacher. Here Tell lived: but gratitude and reverence changed his cottage into a chapel; where maſs is ſolemnly ſaid, and from which the people go in proceſſion. Like the two other chapels of Tell, it is adorned with images; from holy writ, and the hiſtory of Switzerland. Under each image is a verſe. The following lines are over the entrance:

* Allhier, auf dem platz dieſer Kapell,
Hat vormals gewohnt der Wilhelm Tell;

Der

* On the place where this chapel ſtands, formerly lived William

Der treue retter des vaterlands;
Der theure urheber des freien ſtands!
Deme zum dank, Gott aber zur ehr,
Ward dieſe Kapelle geſetzet her;
Und ſelbe dem ſchutz befohlen an
Sanct Wilhelm, Röchli, und Sebaſtian.

On each ſide likewiſe are the following;

* Sind wir gerecht, einig, und gut,
So ſteht die Freiheit ſicher gnug.
† Dankbar gedenket an jene zeit
Da ihr ſeid worden gefreite leut.

In the chapel over the altar, the dial plate of a clock is painted; with a hand, which is ſignificant of concord, pointing to the hour one; under which are theſe lines:

‡ Die freiheit wird ſein von langer daur
Wenn allzeit Eins zeigt dieſe uhr.

Many a beautiful verſe, which has borne the

William Tell; the true ſaviour of his country, the honoured author of its freedom. In thankfulneſs to him, and in honour to God, this chapel was built. It is dedicated to Saint William of Röchli, and Saint Sebaſtian.

* Let us be juſt, united, and virtuous; and our freedom will be ſecure.

† Thankfully, and for ever, remember the day that made you free.

‡ Freedom will endure as long as it ſhall be one o'clock by this dial.

ſtamp

ſtamp of genius, has not excited ſo much emotion in me, as the noble intention of theſe little rhymes; compoſed in all the rudeneſs of ſimplicity. How free from pretenſion, yet how full of the feeling, force, and courage, by which mighty armies were deſtroyed, are theſe inſcriptions! They ſpeak not of heroic deeds: they only excite to mild concord, and rectitude. By inducing us to exerciſe noble virtues, they would reverence their forefathers; who ſhed their blood in behalf of freedom; and thank their God, from whom cometh every good and perfect gift, and from whom concord and courage, rectitude and freedom, proceed.

The Schacher, a charming mountain rivulet, ruſhes tempeſtuouſly through Bürgli. It overflowed its banks, ſoon after Tell had ſhot the governor; and occaſioned much damage. Tell wiſhed to have prevented this misfortune: but the ſtream overtook him; and he only lived to ſee the dawn of freedom.

With what intereſt ſhould I here read my brother's manuſcript play of William Tell! How frequently have I occaſion to regret his abſence; now that I daily hear his hero's name in the mouth of every child!

In Altorf, they ſhewed us two ſtone pillars; ſtanding

ſtanding at the diſtance of one hundred and thirty paces from each other; at which diſtance Tell ſhot the apple from his ſon's head.

We returned to our boat at Flüele; and, on our paſſage to Lucerne, viſited the Grütlin; or the Grütlin-Matte; for ſo is a ſteep place on a height beſide the lake, covered with verdure, graſs, and foliage, called. Here there is a ſpring, by the ſide of which the three great men, Werner von Staufacher from Schweitz, Walter Fürſt from Uri, and Arnold von Melchtahl from Unterwald, made a ſolemn oath to give freedom to Switzerland. This oath was taken in the year 1307; and in the new year's night of the following year, 1308, all the caſtles of the *Zwingherrn* were burnt.

At noon, we landed; in a garden, at Gerſau. Cloſe by the ſhore, we met a little boy, about ſeven years old, alone in a large boat; in which he was proceeding on the lake. The helm was faſtened in the direction which he wiſhed to go; while he ſat and rowed. We ſaw another boy, at Gerſau, about eight or nine years old, who very dexterouſly hit the mark with a croſs bow. This might well be the favourite amuſement of the day, for children, whoſe elder brothers and fathers had been

been ſhooting at a butt, the day before, with muſkets. We had heard their firing reverberate among the rocks. The Swiſs, from their childhood, all exerciſe themſelves in arms. The people of Schweitz, who are the moſt warlike of all, annually give four prizes, each of fifty florins, for the beſt ſhots at four different butts; with ſmaller prizes for the ſecond beſt. We likewiſe yeſterday heard the guns of the people of Lucerne; who were proving their artillery.

The conſtitution of Lucerne, relatively to the town, is more an ariſtocracy, or rather an oligarchy, than that of Zürich; where each burgher has an equal ſhare in the government. The great council in Lucerne conſiſts of a hundred perſons. From theſe, ſix-and-thirty men, who muſt be patricians, are choſen for the little council. There is an appeal from the little council to the collective council. The members of both councils hold their places for life; and it may be ſaid, from the practice of filling up vacancies, that, in the little council, theſe places are in a certain manner hereditary. The chief magiſtrates are the two Schultheiſſe; or mayors; one of whom always ſits at the helm of the ſtate. They are choſen for life; and

and one presides this year, another the next. War, peace, alliance, and new taxes, cannot be incurred without the consent of the assembled citizens.

The peasants are very happy: they pay nothing but tythes in kind, and half a florin annually, from every head of a family, to the high bailiff. The country people enjoy a free trade; and, in this respect, are not, like those of Zürich, dependant on the town. Law-suits are not expensive, here; as in the canton of Berne. If however the complaints which I have heard be not groundless, the high bailiffs of Lucerne are not always free from the vice of peculation.

This is the most powerful of the catholic cantons; and can bring twenty thousand armed men into the field. The revenue of the state does not consist of above seventy-four thousand florins; of which there is an annual surplus, that is employed for the general good.

In Lucerne, as in all the catholic states of the Helvetians, a regular popish Nuncio resides.

I here send you the Kühreihen*, with its

* *Küh* is cow; *reihen* rows. The herdsman's evening song. T.

music.

muſic. Thus the inhabitants of the Alps call the ſong which they ſing, when they drive their cattle from the valleys to the high mountains. Nothing ſo ſtrongly enkindles the deſire of returning to his native home, in a Swiſs, as the ſimple air of this ſong. This will charm the ſoldier in the pay of France to deſert, though the pains of death are the penalty.

LETTER XVII.

Thun and Berne, 18th September, 1791.

WE left Lucerne early on the thirteenth; journeying for a while along the Reuſs, that courſed between its pleaſant banks chaſing its poliſhed waters to the lake. The inhabitants of the canton of Lucerne are equally happy in the bounties of nature, of induſtry, and of freedom.

A few hours brought us to the lake of Sempach; where we ſaw, on the oppoſite ſhore, the old town of that name. Here, in the year 1386, the famous battle of Sempach was won, by three hundred confederates, againſt Leopold

Wolff pinx.

The Valley of Lauterbrunn with the Fall of the Staubach.

Letter XVII

pold Duke of Auſtria and the flower of his army.

Arnold von Winkelried, of Unterwald, here broke the phalanx of the Auſtrian army; oppoſing himſelf to their ſpears, and, by ſeizing as many as he could graſp, made an opening for his troops: thus willingly devoting himſelf to death, that he might ſecure the victory to his fellow warriors.

Sempach, though dependant on Lucerne, enjoys privileges ſo great that it may well value itſelf on its freedom. In antient times, it belonged to the counts of Lenzburg; then to thoſe of Kyburg; and afterward to the counts of Habſburg. In the year 1333, it allied itſelf with Zürich, Berne, Baſle, Soleure, and Saint Gall. After the battle of Sempach, it appertained to Lucerne. It has its own magiſtrates, an extenſive juriſdiction, and conſiderable privileges. From three of its citizens, choſen by the town itſelf, the council of Lucerne elects its Schultheiſs.

The lake of Sempach is two leagues long, and half a league broad; and belongs to the canton of Lucerne. It has a conſiderable fiſhery; the revenue of which is collected, by one of the council of Lucerne, for the ſtate. But this

this counſellor muſt not interfere in the affairs of Sempach.

At the north end of the lake, Surſee ſtands; half a league beyond which, on a height, we ſaw a chain of mountains, that, beginning with the Rigi and Pilatus, proceeds to the Gothard and Engelberg, and ends with the Schreckenhorn. We travelled eighteen leagues through the territories of Lucerne, till we came into the canton of Berne; and, leaving the fortreſs of Aarburg which belongs to this canton on our right, we paſſed through Zofingen. The great canton of Berne is here only a league broad; being limited by the cantons of Lucerne and Soleure. The country round Zofingen is famous for meadows. Never have I beheld the art of watering meadows brought to ſo much perfection as here. An acre of meadow land is frequently ſold for a thouſand rix dollars. A good ſoil, induſtry well directed, and freedom enjoyed, under a government wiſe, mild, and limited by fixed laws, raiſe the people of Berne to a high degree of viſible proſperity.

Farmers, of moſt countries, are reproached with an obſtinate perſeverance in their old method of tillage, however bad, after a better has been

been diſcovered. In Switzerland, the practice is the reverſe. They examine the nature of the ſoil, and how it will be moſt productive; and, as they ſow and reap only for themſelves, and are unreſtrained and free from the vexation of taxes, which other farmers think would be equally reaſonable and natural, they can wait the reſult of any new experiment. Hence it follows that they have more underſtanding than the farmers of other countries. But does it not likewiſe follow that other farmers are miſled, by thoſe oppreſſions from which the firſt are free? Whoever would contemplate the bleſſings which reſult from the full enjoyment of the produce of the earth, muſt viſit the fertile diſtricts of Switzerland.

The houſes of the country people of Berne are remarkably roomy, and neat; and they themſelves are well clothed, well fed, cheerful and ſtrong. Their cattle are large, in good condition, and ſleek; and the men are well formed. The ſpirit of order is ſeen in the laying out, management, and hedging, of their meadows and fields. The beauty of both ſexes is remarkable. I have no where ſeen ſuch handſome girls, except in the canton of Lucerne. The men of Berne, next to thoſe

of Schweitz and Uri, appear to me the handſomeſt in Switzerland.

The freſh verdure, which is ſeen through all Switzerland, charms the eye, and cheers the heart. In this hot ſummer, when I ſaw in the moſt fruitful parts of Germany the lands burnt up by the heat of the ſun, I find in Switzerland the trees green, and a ſhining verdure on the plains and paſtures. The clouds do not only encircle the mountains, but, evening and morning, deſcend to the plains; none of which are ſo low but that, as you approach, they look like hills. When in a morning the mountain tops beam, and the weſt ſide of the glaciers is red with the riſing ſun, while the white clouds ſink below to the miſty fields, the ſpectator ſeems to view a kind of familiar alliance between heaven and earth; which is no where elſe to be found.

In the evening, we proceeded for a while along the banks of the Aar; and, about twilight, arrived at Morgenthal. This friendly little place conſiſts of a few houſes; which are built between pleaſant hills, ſhaded with beech trees, beſide the Aar. Here travellers meet with an inn ſuperior to many that are to be found in the principal cities of Europe. We

left

left Morgenthal on the 14th; and, paſſing through a charming country, ſtopped at Hochſtädt, becauſe we could not reach Thun. Before us, we perceived the mountains of Thun; and, on our right, the high mountains of Grindelwald.

Early on the 15th, we continued our journey; and arrived about eight o'clock at Thun, which is built at the end of the lake of Thun, at the mouth of the Aar. The ſituation of the town is charming. We conſulted with the landlord, how we might beſt go to Grindelwald, and Lauterbrunn; and I adviſe other travellers, who wiſh to make this little trip, to do the ſame; for he is an intelligent man.

He bade us make no delay, that we might reach the valley of Haſli by the evening. He furniſhed us with a good guide; and with ſtaves, with pikes at the end, the better to aſſiſt our aſcent up the ſteep paths; and ſupplied us with proviſions and a boat. The weather was fine, and we gaily ſet ſail, in expectation of the pleaſure we ſhould receive upon the lake.

The lake of Thun is about five leagues long, and one broad. The left ſhore, from the neighbourhood of Thun to the other ſide of Hälfte, is adorned with vine hills. The Stockberge,

the pyramidical Nieſenberg, and beyond theſe the Kienthalberge, and the Blümlialpe * to the right, and on the left the Beatuſberg, and other mountains, give theſe ſhores a noble appearance. In many places, the depth of the lake is one hundred and twenty fathoms. I think I have told you that the lake of the four Waldſtädte is, in many places, ſix hundred fathoms deep. The deeps of this country are in proportion to their heights; nature is every where ſeen in gigantic maſſes. We beheld three caſcades on the left ſhore, ſpringing from rocks: the Stampfbach, the Jungfraunbrunnen, and the Beatuſbach. This laſt riſes out of a cavern of the Beatuſberg. In this cavern, the holy Beatus, who firſt taught the goſpel in theſe parts, lived. The Breitklauenberg, on the right, and the Harderberg, on the left,

* The Blümlialpe, or Flowery Alp, covered with ſnow, muſt formerly have been green. Its name gives an air of probability to the account of the ſhepherds. Theſe people abound in tales of the golden age; when the heavens were more mild, the earth more fruitful, and men more virtuous. In thoſe days, ſay they, the mountains which are now covered with ſnow were fruitful in variegated herbage. The valleys dropped fatneſs. The pernicious Spurge itſelf was excellent fodder for cows; its juice turning into milk.——Happy people! Your golden age is not yet paſſed away.

limit

limit the lake; affording only a paſſage to the Aar, which, a league from this, flows out of the lake of Brienz, courſing through both the lakes. The great Eiger, the little Eiger, and the Jungfrau riſe, covered with everlaſting ſnow; and higher ſtill the Schreckenhorn; whoſe round rocky ſummit appears continually covered, during the ſummer, with two ſhining ſnow balls. This ſummit is always inacceſſible; and, in the ſame of its height, it contends with Mont Blanc in Savoy.

The ſhores of the lake are covered with numerous villages. On the right ſide, the ſouthern mountains riſe, over the little village of Leiſſingen; and, for the ſpace of ſix weeks in the winter, conceal it from the ſun. We landed at Neuhaus, and walked a league, partly beſide the Aar and always among large walnut trees, through rich paſtures to Interlaken; which has derived its name from the Latin, by being ſituated between two lakes.

Here we again took boat, and paſſed over the lake of Brienz. It is three leagues long, and not quite ſo broad as the lake of Thun. Verdant mountains ſurround it on all ſides; ſome of which gently riſe, till at a certain height they become ſteep; ſome ſet their bold

rocky feet in the green waves; while the ſummits of others exhibit immenſe cliffs. We ſaw many fine waterfalls; the moſt beautiful of which is the Gieſsbach. It paſſes from a cliff in the rock among pines; and, after twelve different deſcents, ruſhes headlong into the lake. The mountain of Brienz is one of the moſt charming. The fruit and walnut hedges at its foot, the friendly foliage of its middle region, and its verdant graſsplats and diſperſed cabins, contraſted with the dark pine, brought to mind the delightful mountains of Gerſau.

We landed at Brienz; which is a large village, the houſes of which, after the general manner of the uplands of the canton of Berne, are built with the trunks of pines ſtripped of their bark and laid one above the other, and roofed with ſhingles. Theſe roofs are almoſt flat; and over them, like the cabins in the Alps, ſtones are laid to prevent the wind from carrying them away. The village church is built on a ſmall ſeparate rock.

Women and children flocked round us with friendly curioſity: the men remained at a little diſtance.

Our guide, John Stoller of Thun, a young man whom I would recommend to travellers, procured

procured us ſmall carriages; in which we were conveyed to Meyringen; or the valley of Haſli. Theſe carriages are very light, have narrow wheels, and no coach pole; but a forked ſhaft for one horſe. They may be drawn indeed by two horſes; but then they are either harneſſed one before the other, or, if they draw abreaſt, the ſecond is faſtened by a hook. The driver ſits in the manner of thoſe carriages which the French call *char à banc*. They put only one horſe to each of our carriages; though it contained four people. Our guide ſometimes ran by our ſide, and ſometimes ſprang with great agility, and ſeated himſelf now on the horſe, and now on a kind of coach box.

It is three leagues from Brienz to the valley of Haſli; which is ſometimes called Ober Haſli *, though there is no Unter Haſli † in exiſtence. We paſſed, at a quick rate, through a narrow valley; between high rocky mountains. I never beheld ſuch fantaſtic forms as thoſe of the Ballerberge, on our left. On our right we ſaw three large caſcades: that of Olſbach; which we had before ſeen from the lake of Brienz at the diſtance of two leagues

* Upper Haſli. † Lower Haſli.

and a half; that of Wandelbach; and that of Falkenerbach; all tumbling from high rocks.

In the valley of Haſli ſtands the village of Meyringen; ſhut in by high rocks, and ſecluded as it were from the whole world. There are five outlets, or roads, between theſe rocks: one leading to Brienz, another over the mountain Brüning to Lucerne, a third over the Engelberg to Unterwald, a fourth to Valais, over the Grinſelberg, and the fifth over the Scheideck to Grindelwald.

The Aar runs through the valley of Haſli; which is about eleven leagues in length. The Grinſel, the Wetterhorn, the Schreckenhorn, the Jungfrau, and the Brüningberg, are its boundaries. According to tradition, the inhabitants originally came from Sweden. In antient times, they were under different lords. In 1333, they ſhook off the yoke of John baron of Weiſſenburg; and, with a grant of great privileges, ſubmitted to the canton of Berne. They appoint their own council; the members of which are called Gerichtsſäſſe: and from one of three burghers, choſen by themſelves, the government of Berne appoints their Landammann; who exerciſes the power of a high bailiff, and remains in office

office ſix years; but is obliged to give an account of his adminiſtration, twice a year, to the high bailiff of Interlaken.

Meyringen is the chief place of the valley. The meadows are extremely beautiful; and the whole valley is covered with tall fruit and walnut trees. Before I went to bed, I ſaw three waterfalls, by moonlight, to the north, the Alpbach, the Dorfbach, and the Mühlenbach, all tumbling their bright waters down the mountains. The following morning, I beheld, to the ſouth, the Reichenbach, foaming againſt the rocks.

On the morning of the 16th, at break of day, with cheerful good-will, we took our pikeſtaves, and proceeded over the Scheideck. My wife was borne on a litter by four men; who, carrying two and two, relieved each other. We had a litter for my ſon, but he made no uſe of it. I do not bluſh for him when I tell you that, when the evening before I appointed the men to carry his litter, the tears ran down his cheeks.

The beginnning of the road is very ſteep. In about an hour, we came near to Reichenbach; which is one of the moſt beautiful waterfalls in Switzerland. A lofty current tumbled

bled through the rocky cliffs in broad ſheets, and with a thundering din; while the green mountain, far and wide, was covered with its ſpray. It was nearly an hour before we reached a bridge, which is thrown over the rocky gulph. Here, from above, we beheld the Reichenbach ruſh, and ſaw it foam below on our right. On a bed of rocks not far beneath us, we beheld three enormous oaks, lying on the ground; their branches lopped, and ſtripped of their bark; which had been waſhed down by the force of the ſtream, during one of its inundations. Here they will continue to lie, till the water ſhall riſe and project them headlong into the valley below.

The nether and a part of the middle region of this mountain are covered with green foliage: here we find the beech, elm, linden, haſle, and the ſervice tree *: the laſt rather frequently.

The view down to the valley of Haſli is delightful. The Scheideck is a charming Alp; abundant in fine meadows. Here and there a lonely cabin is built; round which herds of cattle and goats are grazing. The inhabitants are highly proſperous, and pay no taxes; for

* Cratægus.

they

they grow neither corn nor wine. We ſaw a young herdſman, ſtanding at his cabin door, whoſe beauty, ſtrength, and noble figure, reminded us of thoſe antient times when young heroes, the ſons of princes, did not think themſelves degraded by keeping their fathers' flocks upon Mount Ida, "abounding in ſtreams;" or the cloudy Olympus. This herdſman feeds eighteen cows, and daily makes two large cheeſes; weighing together ſixty pounds. The pound of new cheeſe is bought for twelve *kreuzer*. They likewiſe make an inferior cheeſe, from ſkimmed milk; which they call *Zieger*. The mountaineers of the canton of Glaris are the only people who know how to make this laſt kind good; and with them it is called *Schabzieger*. They have a plant peculiar to themſelves, with blue flowers, which gives their cheeſe its ſcent and colour*.

The cheeſes are kept in cabins built for that purpoſe; and, in winter, are packed upon interwoven pine branches; and tranſported as upon ſledges to the valleys. We regaled our-

* Trifolium odoratum: or, melilotum odoratum violaceum. Theſe plants likewiſe grow in gardens. I cannot ſay whether they are found wild in other parts of Switzerland; but they grow in great plenty only in Glaris.

ſelves,

ſelves, in a cabin, with excellent milk, bread, cheeſe, and Italian wine. The people of theſe mountains, who are often viſited by travellers, require only to be paid for the wine; and leave the payment of the milk and cheeſe to the pleaſure of the gueſts.

In the leſſer cantons, and likewiſe with the Griſons and people of Valais, you ſeldom find bread, or wine, among the mountaineers: but they hoſpitably give their milk, butter, and cheeſe; and refuſe money even when it is offered. If you give them bread, or tobacco, though they do not aſk it, the gift is received with friendly thankfulneſs.

The foliage gradually diſappeared; and we continued our way among pine trees. We found the myrtle in great quantities; and here and there ſtrawberries: alſo a certain red berry, the taſte of which is acid but pleaſant. The large yellow gentian, or fellwort, and the Alp roſe were out of bloom: but various kinds of the blue gentian charmed us; and particularly the ſmall, which theſe people call the heavenly blue.

Erneſt found a ſtone, on which were imprinted the figures of various leaves; and brought it with great joy to my wife. He was

rewarded

rewarded by a pair of chamois horns, which ſhe had bought of a mountaineer. I cannot deſcribe to you the ſtrength and cheerfulneſs of the Swiſs guides. They ſang their ditties, bearing my wife up ſteep heights; which we, breathleſs and half exhauſted, could ſcarcely climb with the help of our pikeſtaves. Erneſt indeed continued unabatedly joyous. I more than once ſunk on the graſs, my heart violently beating: yet how delightful was it to repoſe on the ambroſial verdure of the Alps!

As we approached the upper region, the pines began to be few; and we came on our right to enormous rocks, which extended to the Wetterhorn; and at the foot of which ſtands the Roſenlauer glacier. Not far from us, huge pieces of ſevered ice were detached, and fell with the noiſe of thunder.

The laſt height is very difficult to climb. The road downward, to the Grindelwald, is ſteep; and not without danger: there being ſometimes precipices, ſometimes falling beds of flat ſlate, and at others ſhort ſlippery graſs. Erneſt had reſigned his pikeſtaff, at the beginning of the journey; as young David did the heavy armour of Saul. He ran and jumped like a wild goat: and I was obliged to uſe my parental

parental authority, to induce him to be carried over the moſt dangerous places.

The proſpect down to the Grindelwald ſeemed to refreſh us: though this high valley is not ſo pleaſant as the vale of Haſli. The firſt cabin we came to, we ſent our guides to announce us to the clergyman. The notice of the arrival of ſtrangers had ſpread through the valley; and, at ſeveral places, little girls came, with their black and red cherries, and blooming noſegays, among which were beautiful carnations; as if they had expected our arrival. In theſe mountainous diſtricts, the cherries of Grindelwald are not much larger than myrtle berries; but ſweet and palatable, eſpecially the black.

The clergyman and his wife gave us a friendly reception. After an excurſion of almoſt ten leagues, we regaled on wine and excellent honey. Imagine to yourſelf the ambroſia which the bees of the Alps ſuck, from the flowers of the Alps; and imagine that you taſte the honey of Hymettus, or of Hybla.

It was nearly five o'clock, and we were deſirous of viſiting the loweſt glacier. The clergyman was our guide. It ſtands half a league from the parſonage houſe. Sophia went with us,

us, notwithſtanding the difficulty of the way, through a defile almoſt impaſſable, from cliffs, flints, and ſnow, which had been blown from the mountain.

Beneath us were enormous icicles. Jacobi diſcovered a ſpacious hall of ice; which I entered with him: but the clergyman entreated us to leave it, and perſiſted in departing from a place where, two days before, there had been none of the ice which we beheld.

The people of the Alps are all of them perſuaded that the glaciers continue ſeven years to increaſe, and ſeven years to diminiſh. The paſtor, who has lived here eight years, has obſerved it continually decreaſe. Sixteen years ago, I, my brother, and Haugwitz, ſtood on this very glacier on the ice; and ſtrawberries grew ſo near us that we could gather them; which now is not poſſible. The ice and ſnow have diminiſhed; but the deſolation of the deſcending ſtones has increaſed. Theſe are now a barrier between eternal winter and the verdant mountain.

The rock, which ſtands at the foot of this glacier, is called the Fiſcherhorn. The white Lutſchina riſes out of the glacier; and the black Lutſchina from a higher glacier at Scheideck.

deck. Their waters mingle in the valley of Grindelwald.

On theſe heights, where the rocks ſurround the plains and are the boundaries of eternal winter, milk and honey flow, wheat ripens, and various fruits proſper. The inhabitants annually ſupply their neighbours with above a hundred thouſand weight of cheeſe; and are ſubject to the high bailiff of Interlaken. If I am not miſtaken, they are the only people in Switzerland who pay a tax, though an inconſiderable one, for their cattle. This was impoſed upon them as a puniſhment, for their obſtinate reſiſtance of the reformation. In my opinion, it would be worthy the wiſe government of Berne to annul this little tax; which was but an attempt to enſlave opinion.

We early left our worthy hoſt, and travelled four leagues on a deſcent to the valley of Grindelwald, and beſide the Lutſchina, into the valley of Lutſchina; from which we proceeded to the ſtill deeper vale of Lauterbrunn. Our daring guides ſeldom locked the wheel; though the carriage often rolled precipitately along. Our road continued through a narrow valley, between rocks and mountains covered with elms, pines, and other green trees; which

would have ſhaded us, had not theſe rocks and mountains ſhut out the ſun. The verdant valley, through which the Lutſchina runs, is narrow and very populous. We ſaw the Staubbach at a diſtance; and, on this ſide of that celebrated waterfall, a ſmaller caſcade. This laſt, on the 7th of Auguſt of the preſent year, ſwelled by the guſh of a ſummer ſhower, poured its waters into the valley. The Lutſchina roſe, and entirely carried away the inn. We ſaw the ruins, ſcattered in the bed of the river, at a conſiderable diſtance from the place where the houſe had ſtood.

As ſoon as we came to the village of Lauterbrunn, we alighted; and went to the Staubbach. This waterfall ruſhes down a wild rocky declivity, nine hundred feet high; which is overgrown with bruſhwood. Here the full ſtream rolls tempeſtuouſly. As it falls, the pillar of water diſperſes into a fine rain; which does not deſcend perpendicularly, but yields a little to the wind. It then meets with a projecting ſcaffold of rock; and a part runs down its ſide in ſingle ſtreams, while another part daſhes below in clouds, and covers the green turf with its ſpray.

The path is ſomewhat difficult, from the

water overflowing the ſtone; and from the black flints. The morning ſun formed a broad rainbow, in the nether cloud of the ſtream; and, as we came nearer, we ſaw a round and complete circle, which beamed with all the colours of the iris.

Oppoſite the Staubbach, an advancing cliff of the Jungfrau towers; which is called the Monk, and which here conceals the ſnow covered Jungfrau, the ſummit of which we diſcovered as ſoon as we were at a little diſtance.

We returned to our carriage, and quickly came to the houſe which the inn-keeper, after the loſs of his inn, had hired to receive his gueſts. He was not at home, and we aſked the gentle and friendly hoſteſs to give us the hiſtory of their misfortune. She did not, as many would have done, exhauſt herſelf in complaining; but related the accident in few words, and added that ſhe and her huſband had intended to ſell the houſe, that they might retire to that in which we were, and which belonged to them, and live at their eaſe. Whether their loſs induced them to renounce this peaceable project I do not know: but that the tranquillity of her mind was not to be diſturbed,

turbed, by loſs or gain, her cheerful, ſatisfied, and kind deportment ſufficiently ſhewed.

Baron von Block, whom I met ſome weeks ago in Zürich, has given me the following account of this ſudden misfortune.

On the 17th of Auguſt, late in the evening, he arrived at Lauterbrunn, when the people of the inn were all aſleep; and probably his arrival prevented the landlord and the landlady, with their domeſtics, from periſhing. Soon after the landlady came to his chamber, and called on him to ſave himſelf. He hurried out, opened the houſe door, and was met by the waves. The good people had ſcarcely time to place a ladder againſt the chimney; and, eſcaping with their gueſt over the roof, made a great leap, to which the fear of death induced them, upon an oppoſite height, before the wild torrent had ſwept away and utterly deſtroyed the houſe. On this height, they paſſed a cold, wet, and fearful night. The Baron von Block, who had eſcaped with the loſs of his clothes, and, what added to his diſtreſs, who had loſt in a moment all the notes and drawings he had made in his travels, commiſerated the good landlord; who anſwered him, with the dignity of a chriſtian ſage,

"The lord has given, the lord has taken away:" he perhaps may give again.

We continued our journey back to Interlaken; and for a little way by the ſame road, till we came to a bridge over the Lutſchina.

We purſued the courſe of this pleaſant ſtream, which was always winding among woody mountains and rocks. Of theſe mountains the Sauſeberg is the moſt remarkable; from which a rivulet deſerving of its name, the Sauſebach, or roaring ſtream, rapidly flows.

From Interlaken, we went to Neuhaus, took boat, and returned yeſterday evening, before duſk, to Thun.

The ſmall diſtrict of Thun was long ſubject to its own Counts. It afterward deſcended to the Dukes of Zähringen; and from them to their heirs the Counts of Kyburg. After its maſters had pledged it more than once to Berne, they finally delivered it up to this canton, in the year 1384. The principal magiſtrate of Thun has the title of Schultheiſs.

The town of Thun enjoys great privileges, and has its own council: but the Schultheiſs ſits as preſident.

As we could not get horſes, we remained there all the morning, and aſcended the tower

of

of the church ; from which there is a fine proſpect, toward the lake and the mountains. People are often detained in Switzerland, by the want of Poſt-houſes. Some years ago, the government of Berne appointed extra poſt-houſes ; but gave up the project becauſe fodder was dear, and the ſtate was a loſer. Travellers do not ſufficiently recollect theſe circumſtances, when they make exaggerated complaints of the price paid to the guides. They forget too that the driver and his horſes, in winter, are out of employment.

In the afternoon we proceeded to Berne; over a flat but fruitful country. I ſhall give you an account of this very remarkable town in my next.

LETTER XVIII.

Berne, 20th September 1791.

BERNE was founded in the year 1191, by Berthold V, Duke of Zähringen. His father, Berthold the fourth, certainly had the intention to build this town. The Dukes of

Zähringen were Statthalters of the German empire, in a part of Swabia and of Switzerland. Berthold the fourth built Freiburg in Switzerland; and Berthold the third, Freiburg in Brisgau. The character of the times impelled the little nobles, and free burghers, to seek a secure refuge against the enterprises of the great nobles, and their restless fiefholders; and the policy of princes easily seized this pretext, that, by lessening the power of the great Barons, they might increase their own. This town was particularly esteemed as a place of safety, and of rendezvous, for the small nobility. It was built on a spot which nature had fortified; the Aar flowing on three of its sides. Berthold gave the new town laws, and privileges; which, in the year 1218, were confirmed by the Emperor: so that it was, even then, a free imperial town.

At the death of Berthold, it retained its own government; being neglected by the unstable power of the empire.

Rudolphus of Habsburg, whose intention it was to leave a considerable inheritance to his descendants in Switzerland, appeared before Berne with an army, under the pretext of reinstating the fugitive Jews in power: but the

people

people ſhut their gates againſt him, and preſſing affairs called Rudolphus to another place. His ſon, Albert the firſt, inherited his father's ambition, added to his own cupidity; againſt which the wealth of the empire was as little ſecure as the inheritance of his nephew, John of Swabia. He made war upon Berne, with different ſucceſs; the people of Berne being the moſt frequently victorious; till, in the year 1308, the three old cantons, Schweitz, Uri, and Unterwald, threw off the yoke. In 1309, Albert was murdered, by his nephew John, and the other conſpirators: John having conceived a bitter hatred againſt him, becauſe of the injuſtice done him by Albert.

The territory of Berne was divided into four pariſhes. The nobles ruled the little ſtate; and, with their wealth and blood, frequently defended its poſſeſſions, freedom, and ſecurity. The burghers gradually became warlike: their ſhort wars did not prevent them from cultivating their land, and collecting its produce; though they were exerciſed in arms, and thus rendered habitually courageous. The youth of Berne, frequently, and perhaps too eaſily, provoked to the field, inflamed by their increaſing love of war, took caſtle after caſtle. Enemy

after enemy was attacked; and the laws of war annexed the conquered diſtricts to the ſtate. Small communities ſought the protection of Berne; which ſtrengthened itſelf as much by its prudence as by its fortune in war: making alliances with inferior ſtates againſt the mighty fiefholders, who, in the middle ages, were the common foe of growing cities.

Soleure was always the true friend of Berne. Freiburg, although its ſiſter, was always its rival; and frequently its declared enemy. It allied itſelf againſt Berne, with the jealous Counts of Kyburg, Grüyeres, Arberg, Nidau, and Neufchatel. The allies, between twenty and thirty thouſand ſtrong, encamped before the little town of Laupen; which, with its diſtrict, Berne had purchaſed, and had firſt erected a bailiwick.

Rudolphus of Erlach, who had ſerved the Counts of Nidau, but had deſerted them to combat for his country, was the leader of the little army of Berne; which, with the aid ſent by Schweitz, Uri, Unterwalden, and other allies, amounted only to five thouſand men. The proud Counts and their arrogant cavaliers deſpiſed the feeble foe: not perhaps ſo much becauſe

becauſe of its ſmall numbers, as from that ſelfſufficient arrogance which the deeds of their forefathers, and in part their own acts, inſpired; and which, if they could not juſtify, ſeemed to excuſe them. But the prodigious ſpears, wielded by the nervous arms of the ſmall army, unhorſed the mailed knights. The allies againſt Berne left three thouſand ſlain on the field.

A new victory, gained over Freiburg, by which it was in imminent danger, increaſed the courage of Berne.

The citizens of Berne were in full enjoyment of their victory, when a temporary truce was made, in the year 1343, through the mediation of Agnes of Auſtria, widow of Andrew, King of Hungary. When war again broke out, the people of Berne ſuffered a great defeat, in the valley of Sieben.

In the year 1348, they were viſited by the plague; which ſpread from the Italian ports through Germany; and this viſitation was ſo fearful, in the northern kingdoms, that the Daniſh peaſants to this day occaſionally mention it, by the name of the Black Death.

Lucerne and Zürich had entered into an alliance with the three firſt cantons; and theſe

allies having taken Glaris and Zug by force of arms, communicated to their inhabitants the full rights of liberty; when, in the year 1353, Berne was received into the confederacy, where it then assumed the second rank; which it has ever since maintained.

In the year 1375, Enguerrend de Coucy, followed by English, French, and Brabant knights, who, according to the manners of those times, were soldiers of fortune and had served in long wars between France and England, attacked Switzerland, under the pretext of its being the dowry of his mother; who was of the house of Austria. Coucy was defeated by the confederates, at Lucerne; and afterward at Frauenbrunnen, by the people of Berne; and he and his fugitives were driven from the country.

While the confederates were acquiring new fame against Austria, at Sempach and Näffels, the people of Berne attacked the Counts of Kyburg, who sided with Austria, in Thun and Burgdorf: both of which places were ceded to them at the peace. They likewise conquered the counties of Nidau and Buren. By various means, partly by the bestowing the rights of citizenship, and partly by the conquest of feudal

feudal knights and barons, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the upland valleys of the Alps. Theſe new conqueſts increaſed the power, but exhauſted the treaſury, of Berne. The chief magiſtrates loaded the country with taxes; and, in 1384, an aſſembly of the burghers diſplaced many of the guilty, or who were ſuppoſed to be guilty, and reſtored tranquillity.

When Frederick Duke of Auſtria fell under the ban of the Empire, in the council of Conſtance, becauſe he had ſupported the unfortunate Pope John XXIII againſt Martin V, the people of Berne, according to the cuſtoms of thoſe times, and being invited to this act by the Emperor Sigiſmund, attacked Aargau; and obliged Zofingen, Aarau, Brug, and Lenzburg, with their appendages to ſurrender: and theſe now form one of the moſt fertile diſtricts in their poſſeſſion. They and their allies likewiſe conquered the county of Baden. Sigiſmund, glad to weaken his enemy, for a ſum of money confirmed them in the poſſeſſion of theſe territories.

After the death of the laſt Count of Toggenburg, a ruinous war broke out, between the cantons of Zürich and Schweitz, concerning his inheritance. Zürich demanded the aid of Auſtria;

Auſtria; and Schweitz required the confederates to decide between it and the canton that had allied itſelf to the common foe. Zürich would not admit of the deciſion of the confederates: they therefore took part with Schweitz. This war, which was the firſt that happened among the confederates, continued from the year 1436 to the year 1444. It was in the laſt year of this war that the confederates ſuffered the honourable loſs that befel them, in the churchyard of St. James at Baſle, againſt Lewis the Dauphin of France. Not the flight but the death of the opponents gave victory, to the numerous army of France; and compelled the Dauphin to return to France, and confeſs that his powers were inſufficient for the obtaining of ſuch another battle.

The confederates ſoon after made war on Sigiſmund, Duke of Auſtria; who, being impoveriſhed, mortgaged Alſatia and another territory to Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. Audacious princes often impart their arrogance to their dependants. The *ſtatthalter*, or governor of Charles, irritated the people of Berne; and they ſent ambaſſadors to complain to the Duke, who made theſe ambaſſadors kneel

in

in his preſence. A ſimilar kind of conduct enflamed the Alſatians; who, being immediately under the power of Hagenbach, the ſtatthalter, were moſt ſubject to his cruelty. They therefore ſeized him, and put him to death.

Charles was frantic in his rage. Part of the council of Berne wiſhed for an accommodation with him, others for war. Lewis XI of France had influence over ſome of the members of the council; and to him it was partly owing that this warlike people took arms, againſt Charles. At that time, the ſecret influence of France was more dangerous than its ſword; and the queſtion was determined in favour of war.

Adrian of Bubenberg, of an antient family, which in deeds of war and peace had been famous from the earlieſt times of the republick, for certainly Berthold had been firſt induced to build the city of Berne by one of this family, Adrian of Bubenberg was in favour of peace: but young Nicholas of Dieſbach, whoſe wealth, ardour, and popular artifice had weight, which was the more dangerous becauſe he was the partiſan of Lewis, was for war; and accordingly an alliance was concluded, between the confederates and Alſatia, againſt

againſt Charles the Bold. The Duke was employed elſewhere, when his army in Alſatia was attacked, and defeated. The Swiſs took Orbe, and Grandſon, from the family of Chalons; which was allied with the Duke; fell on the Pays de Vaud, and laid Geneva under contribution.

In the year 1476, Charles came with a powerful army, took Grandſon by capitulation, and, contrary to his promiſe, hung the garriſon: but he was afterward defeated here, and put to flight, by eighteen thouſand Swiſs.

He then retired to Lauſanne, collected troops, and beſieged Murten; which Adrian of Bubenberg defended, with a garriſon of fifteen hundred men. The Swiſs marched againſt Charles, and attacked him; aided by Renatus, Duke of Lorrain, whom Charles had robbed of his poſſeſſions. Here they gained a celebrated victory. The cavalry of Burgundy were cut to pieces; and the flying army was purſued to the lake, in which thouſands periſhed. Charles only eſcaped by ſwimming acroſs on horſeback.

In the beginning of the winter of 1477, Charles beſieged Nancy; and the Duke of Lorrain called on the Swiſs for aid. They

came

came, the Burgundians loſt the battle, and Charles his life. An old French hiſtorian relates, with the ſimplicity and ardour of his times, that the ſound of the great horn, which the Swiſs are accuſtomed to blow at the beginning of a battle, had put the boldeſt warrior of his age to flight, by reminding him of the battle of Murten *.

The Swiſs had now reached the ſummit of warlike fame: but ſuch ſummits are ever dangerous to nations. The warlike youth were arrogant, and diſorderly. Princes, who durſt not confide in their own troops, endeavoured, and not always in vain, to corrupt the chiefs of a nation which they could not have conquered in battle. Hence ſuſpicion, reſtleſſneſs, and contention, aroſe.

Berne had conquered Murten and Grandſon for itſelf; and Orbe in common with Freiburg. It likewiſe in common with Freiburg poſſeſſed Schwarzenburg which it purchaſed of the Dukes of Savoy. The democratic cantons looked with well-founded jealouſy on the growing power of Berne, and its

* On fit ſonner le grand cor, par trois fois, tant que le vent du ſouffleur pouvoit durer; ce qui ébahît fort Monſieur de Bourgoygne, car à Morat l'avoit ouï.

new

new connection with Freiburg. During the Burgundian war, they had certainly ordered their commanders, when they laid ſiege to any place to keep their troops diſtinct from thoſe of Berne and Freiburg. The poſſeſſion of fortified towns muſt be hateful, to thoſe whoſe love of freedom warns them to keep no ſuch on their own territories. Berne and Freiburg were but the more cloſely united; and the democratic cantons conſidered this as a deſertion of the confederacy. The conteſt became bitter; and a general aſſembly of the confederates was called, at Stanz and Unterwald. They were about to decide the diſpute by force of arms with redoubled acrimony; had not the worthy paſtor of Stanz ſent to Nicholas von der Flüe. This man had been Landammann, or high bailiff, of Unterwald. The other particulars, the manner in which he appeaſed them, and the honour in which his name is held, I have already related.

About this time, many of the knights of Swabia had formed themſelves into a band; under the title of the knights of St. George. Some trivial accidents brought on a war, between theſe knights and the confederates; and

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the Swiſs, in various battles, had greatly the advantage. Their youth, before too fond of war, now became more unruly; and, in times of peace, eagerly ſought occaſion to ſhew their courage. The people of Berne, more than the others, enliſted themſelves under foreign banners. It was cuſtomary for Italian free ſtates, and princes, to hire foreign troops; and they were particularly deſirous of the Swiſs. This noble people bluſh at the remembrance of thoſe times, when, waging mercenary war, the brother pointed his ſpear againſt the brother's breaſt. Frequently deceived by the Italians, the angry ſon of the Alps would forſake one party, and go over to the other. Oh that ſome patriot had then played the *Kühreihen;* and that the loud ſong had awakened in them the remembrance of their home, and the delights of their own country! Oh that a Nicholas of the Rock had ariſen, and had driven the ſtranger and his mercenary bribes from the land of peace and freedom!

At the beginning of the ſixteenth century, Baſle, Schaffhauſen, and Appenzel, were admitted into the confederacy. This century, which was ſo memorable to moſt part of Europe, was no leſs remarkable for the enlight-

ened knowledge which it brought to many of the cantons of Switzerland. The great Zuingle firſt lighted the torch of truth in Zürich. Haller found more oppoſition in Berne. To the reſiſtance which each new doctrine muſt meet, was added that clandeſtine oppoſition to thoſe principles which combated prejudice, immorality, and eſtabliſhed abuſes. Among other vices of the times, the reformers reproved the Swiſs for taking arms in the ſervice of foreign princes, or free ſtates; and, while Zuingle lived, he prevented the practice in Zürich.

Among other obſtacles which Haller found, the intereſt of the great families was one. The numerous and lucrative church benefices abundantly provided for their younger ſons. Modern writers, who ſometimes magnify and at others diminiſh objects, and ſet them in a falſe light, have ſome reaſon on their ſide, when they aſſert that the reformation was principally the work of ſelfiſh princes, who thirſted after the poſſeſſions of the church; but they will find it difficult clearly to ſhew what motive ſhould induce the council of Berne to countenance the admiſſion of the new doctrine. However, in 1528, the reform-

ation

ation was eſtabliſhed, by a plurality of votes, in the greateſt number of the thirteen cantons.

The zealous citizens of Zürich made war on the catholic cantons, becauſe the former wiſhed the reformation ſhould take place in them all. They were vanquiſhed, in two battles, by the catholics; in one of which Zuingle loſt his life, at Kappel, in the territories of Zürich, and on the confines of Zug.

At Geneva, the partiſans of the reformed, who were called the Eidgnoſs*, which the French miſ-pronounce Hugonots, prevailed over the catholics; who took the name of the Savoyards. In this year, 1528, Geneva allied itſelf more cloſely to Berne and Freiburg: for it had been allied to theſe ſtates at the time of the Burgundian war. The Duke of Savoy was jealous of this alliance, and committed hoſtilities; till at length a truce was made, between him and Geneva; with the condition that, if it was again broken by the Duke, he ſhould forfeit the *Pays de Vaud* to Berne: if broken by the people of Geneva, they were no more to remain allied to theſe cantons. The war again broke out; for the people of

* Eidgenoſſen: confederates.

Berne imagined they had juſt cauſe of complaint, for which they had received no recompenſe. However, in 1536, when Francis the firſt of France took the principality of Piedmont from the Duke, Charles, they likewiſe took the *Pays de Vaud*, and a part of Savoy.

They were induced to reſign their conqueſts in Savoy, to which at that time was annexed the country of Gex, which is now a part of Burgundy, by the interpoſition of the other cantons: but they retained the whole *Pays de Vaud*; and, from that time, the limits between them and Savoy have been the lake of Geneva. The people of Freiburg had a ſmall ſhare of this rich booty. The Counts of Gruyeres refuſed to do homage to the cantons, for their lordſhips in the *Pays de Vaud:* but Michael, the laſt Count of this houſe, being much in debt, had his rights bought up by the people of Berne; and his deſcendants were robbed of Rougemont and Oron. This was the laſt, and, truth to ſay, not the moſt dignified, of the conqueſts of Berne.

In 1574, Zürich was included in the fixed alliance that had been made, between Berne and Geneva, in 1557. About this time, Berne

was

was confirmed in its poſſeſſion of the Pays de Vaud, by Henry the third of France.

Some civil diſturbances took place in Berne during the ſeventeenth century, one cauſe of which was the Anabaptiſts. Their religion forbade them the uſe of arms; and this perhaps is a greater inconvenience in a republic, where the country is defended by its own citizens, than it is in a monarchy, where an army of mercenaries may be employed.

The meaſures that were taken againſt them were certainly too ſevere; and were certainly unjuſt. A family of the reformed religion, who had fled from Schweitz to Zürich, and who were refuſed by their countrymen the property that they had left behind them, gave occaſion to a ſhort war; between the five catholic cantons on one ſide, and Zürich and Berne on the other. The people of Lucerne gained a victory over the people of Berne; and the conteſt ſubſided: but fifty years of peace with foreign powers did not ſtifle the fire of party jealouſy. The catholic cantons thought they might, in caſe of need, depend upon aid from France: but old Lewis was then engaged in an unfortunate war, which perhaps induced the people of Berne and Zü-

rich to draw their ſwords againſt their brothers, in the year 1712.

It cannot however be denied but they had ſome cauſe. The Abbot of St. Gall oppreſſed the greateſt part of his ſubjects of Toggenburg. This diſtrict, which had formerly been ſubject to its own Counts, was, in the year 1469, for a ſum of money, conſigned to the Abbot of St. Gall. Moſt of the inhabitants, the number of whom may amount to about fifty thouſand, were of the reformed religion; and this part of the community ſuffered great vexation from the Abbot. In the year 1696, he oppreſſed them in a very inſupportable manner. They claimed their frequently-confirmed privileges; and fled for ſupport to Zürich, and Berne. Till the year 1712, it was only a war of words: but it then broke out into open hoſtilities between the cantons of Schweitz, Uri, Unterwald, Lucerne, and Zug, in oppoſition to Berne, and Zürich.

During this ſhort conteſt, the reformed cantons had the advantage. The Abbot of St. Gall was allowed to poſſeſs the county of Toggenburg: but religious freedom was fully confirmed to the Proteſtants. The catholic cantons loſt their ſhare in the county of Baden,

den, and in the lower part of what were called the other free diſtricts: but Berne maintained equal rights, in common with the ſeven old cantons, over Thurgau, Sargans, and Rheinthal.

So ended the laſt war, in which the Swiſs combated each other: and may wars like theſe never be renewed! But it will ever remain worthy of admiration, that ſo many independent ſtates, whoſe forms of government and religion are ſo different, and whoſe intereſts muſt neceſſarily ſo often claſh, ſhould ſo ſeldom have broken the holy bonds of union: a bond which, ſeventeen years hence, will have continued five centuries; and which will then well deſerve a jubilee.

It muſt be owned that the canton of Berne, in antient times, took advantage of the Counts, their neighbours; and, in modern, of the people of Savoy; to increaſe their territories: for which their forefathers may bluſh. But, for many years, it has been animated by a different ſpirit. It is now honoured by all the powers of Europe, and beloved by all the cantons; and it will be difficult to furniſh an example, from the hiſtory of mankind, where more moderation and love of juſtice have been

ſeen, than they have ſhewn to their allies of every deſcription.

I think it may now be confidently affirmed, that no canton has the intention of taking advantage of another. Some are ſatisfied with their power and wealth: others with the peace and noble ſimplicity which they enjoy. Each taſtes, in various ways, the fruits of that freedom which was ſealed by the blood of their forefathers. This freedom combines all that is dear, all that is holy; and no foreign power can rob them of it while they remain worthy of its bleſſing. The Alps may again be ſurmounted; armies again may croſs their ſtupendous cliffs: but concord, ſimplicity of manners, good education, religion grounded in virtue, and virtue ſtrengthening valour, theſe all ſurround this happy people with a wall of fire; and deprive neighbouring ſtates of a wiſh to attack a nation, which they well may envy, but cannot ſubdue.

LETTER XIX.

Berne, 21ſt September 1791.

VERY oppoſite opinions have been formed, concerning the conſtitution of Berne. Many have compared it to the oligarchy of Venice: while ſome have praiſed it beyond all meaſure. Theſe contradictions do not perhaps ſo much ariſe out of any real difference of opinion, in the perſons who praiſe, or blame, as out of the peculiar manner of each in viewing the objects. But we do not always adopt a right point of view. We frequently form our judgment from the firſt haſty glance. This indeed is the moſt general mode of determining. But it is with our underſtanding as with our health: ſhould diſeaſe attack us, if our temperament be good, nature will give us aid. The hearts of the virtuous are curable, ſaid Homer: and it is the ſame with their underſtanding.

Thoſe who conſider the mere outline of the conſtitution of Berne, if they love freedom, will perhaps find it very defective. He however who attends to the healthy body of the ſtate,

ſtate, where the head is clear, the limbs are in active harmony with each other, and the fulneſs of life invigorates the arm, while power and agility combine in the ſerviceable quick foot; he, I ſay, who perceives this, will heſitate before he decides againſt a government, where the people certainly enjoy a high degree of healthy freedom.

The living body of a ſtate muſt not be ſolely judged by its external proportions. We juſtly and rigorouſly require proportion, from the architect, and the ſculptor: but they ſhew us nothing but the contour. In the moſt healthy bodies, the aſtoniſhed anatomiſt often finds great defects: while, in defiance of all theory, theſe bodies, when living, gave no ſigns of imperfection.

It is likewiſe true that, in politics, there is frequently a dead letter, but a living ſpirit. Manners make laws almoſt uſeleſs. The ſpirit of wiſdom, benevolence, and moderation, deſcending from father to ſon, will better ſecure the freedom of a people than all the ſplit-hair theories of any conſtitution *.

Berne

* Perhaps there is no truth that ſo much deſerves the ſerious attention of mankind, as that which this paragraph contains

Berne is the only canton in which neither the whole people nor all the freemen of the city ever aſſemble.

The democratic cantons, Schweitz, Uri, Unterwald, Zug, Glaris, and Appenzel, all of them, have their general aſſemblies.

Not only do Zürich and Baſle, whoſe conſtitutions, conſidered as towns, are democratic, though the burghers rule the country people like ariſtocrats, aſſemble the municipality of the town; but ſo likewiſe do Lucerne, Freiburg, Soleure, and Schaffhauſen: though the citizens do not here enjoy an equal participation of the government.

The principles of the conſtitution of Berne originated with the town itſelf. It was built as a ſtrong hold; a place of rendezvous, for the inferior nobles; where they might find ſafety againſt the enterpriſes of the ſurrounding Counts, and great Lords. Theſe nobles

contains. Thoſe who think that laws govern a nation, are miſerably miſtaken. The people know nothing of law: or nothing but that it gives them the power of tormenting each other. Their rule of conduct is the opinion of their neighbours: improve this opinion, and their morals and happineſs muſt improve. It is the deep importance of the ſubject that forces from me this otherwiſe impertinent note. T.

were

were warlike; and, under their wing, the induſtrious merchant and the peaceful mechanic found the tranquillity and protection of which they were in need. They willingly renounced the cares of government, which wiſe men do not always find a ſource of true happineſs, to thoſe ſtrong arms that were ready to draw the ſword in their defence: and ſo frequently was it drawn, by theſe nobles, and ſo effectually, that their race became gradually extinct. The burghers and nobles then became neceſſarily united; and the latter, now more temperate, had felt that the government ought not to depend on too ſmall a number; but that the many ought to call the few to account. The admiſſion of certain burgher families, into the adminiſtration of affairs, did not alter the ſpirit of the conſtitution.

At Rome, the road to the higheſt offices and honours was open to the Plebeians: but though a Plebeian family, which had paſſed the curule chair, had acquired new dignity, power, and reſpect, yet this new dignity was not equal to the ſplendour of the Patrician.

The moſt antient chronicles of the republic of Berne ſhew that, in thoſe times, the whole municipality was occaſionally aſſembled: but

ſuch

ſuch an aſſembly does not prove any ſtated or active power. In ſimple ages, men were not ſo lightly fearful of ſubtle concluſions. The inferences that have been drawn, in our times, with reſpect to theſe aſſemblies, from which it has been imagined that the great council was firſt founded in the year 1384, were very haſty. An original paper, ſo early as the year 1294, mentions the two hundred; and an edict, of the year 1314, likewiſe begins with theſe words: *Wir Schultheiſs, Rath, und Zweihundert* *.

The council of two hundred, formerly, actually conſiſted of that round number: but it was gradually increaſed, till it was ſometimes above three hundred. A law therefore was made, which limited the number to two hundred and ninety-nine. No candidates were to be elected, till there were eighty vacancies: but here too corruption crept in. Young men, who aſpired to this honour, found old counſellors, who had no longer any hopes of enjoying the office of high bailiff, whom they ſecretly penſioned to reſign their places, in order to make the eighty va-

* We the Advoyer, Council, and two hundred.

cancies,

cancies, that they might be elected. Hence the law now is that the vacancies of living counſellors muſt not be numbered: there muſt be eighty counſellors dead, before there can be any new election.

Each candidate muſt be nine-and-twenty years of age; dating eight days after baptiſm. Hence, in families who hope their deſcendants may be counſellors, they have the males chriſtened immediately after birth. Elections generally happen once in nine or ten years: and any young man who at this time is a minor, if it be but for a few days, muſt wait till the next election.

Every burgher of Berne has the right of being elected to the higheſt dignities; but few have the hope: for the little council, which conſiſts of twenty-ſeven members, and the ſixteen, who are annually choſen from the great council, propoſe the members of this great council; ſo that they continually circulate among the powerful families. In the collective great council *, of which the ſmall council is a committee, all power centres;

* I underſtand, by this paſſage, that there are three councils: The great council, the little council, and the collective great council. T.

but

but in different bodies. The executive power is entrusted to the little council; the legislative to the great. The little council assembles every day, Sunday excepted. It first examines every matter, which is afterwards laid before the great council. All current affairs are in its disposal: as likewise are most of the church benefices, and the inferior of the lay employments. It pronounces sentence in criminal causes; except over the burghers of Berne.

The members of the little council are elected in a very complex manner. On the death of any one member, the remaining six-and-twenty assemble. Six-and-twenty small balls are put in a box; three of which are gold. The members each draw a ball. Those who draw the three golden balls nominate three electors from their own body. Seven other electors are chosen by the great council. These ten electors nominate a number of candidates, not more than ten, and not less than six. The collective council then give their votes. Those who have the most votes in their favour draw four balls; two of which are gold, and two of silver: and one of those who have drawn the golden balls is elected,

by

by the plurality of votes of the collective council.

The little council consists of the two advoyers, two treasurers, two bannerets, seven counsellors, and two *heimlichern*, or secret counsellors. The two advoyers preside in the collective council, and in the little council. They are elected by the collective council. They formerly held their office only one year: it is now for life; though the collective council has the right to remove them. They are annually confirmed in their office at Easter, by the collective council: after the German treasurer has publicly solicited, in their name, letters of approbation. The same is done in the little council. The advoyer, who was last year in office, resigns to his associate. The reigning advoyer has precedence in the little and the collective councils. The seal of the republic lies before him. He never gives his vote, till it is demanded: nor has he any vote, till, the numbers being equal, it becomes necessary for him to decide.

The next in rank to the advoyers are the treasurers: the first of whom is for the German districts, and the other for the Pays de Vaud. The two treasurers and the four ban-

nerets conſtitute a college, or committee, of finance. The bannerets are only a year in office; the treaſurers may be continued for ſix years. Each banneret is likewiſe a high bailiff, without having the title of one of the four diſtricts of which the ſtate originally conſiſted.

The advoyer, who by turn is out of office, is at the head of the ſecret college, or committee; which conſiſts of himſelf, one treaſurer, the four bannerets, and the two ſecret counſellors. In this committee thoſe affairs which muſt not be made public are diſcuſſed.

The particular office of the ſecret counſellor is to watch that nothing contrary to the conſtitution ſhall be done, either in the great or little council. They have therefore the right, if they think it neceſſary, to convoke the great council, without leave of the advoyers. The different provincial committees, and the chambers of appeal, one for the German diſtricts, the other for the Pays de Vaud, are members of the councils. The conſtitution of their courts of juſtice might ſuit the character of old times; but, for the preſent, appear to me to be dangerous. The ſentence of the judge is highly reſpected, becauſe the

laws are ſo ſimple; and, in reality, ſo few. Neither here nor, if I do not miſtake, in the other cantons, is there any criminal code. This deficiency might have dreadful conſequences, were not thoſe who govern this country inſpired by an unuſual ſpirit of benevolence.

Perhaps you, like me, will wonder at the little power of the advoyer. His influence however is often very great, nay almoſt preponderating; although, till it is demanded, he has no vote. But ſuch muſt ever be the nature of having propoſitions to make, in the mouth of a man of underſtanding and eloquence. Few ſtates have been ſufficiently watchful of this influence. Such an influence is great, little, or nothing; in proportion to the abilities of the perſon who ſtates the propoſition: and the people of Berne appear, from this inſtitution, to have ſhewn a deep knowledge of man.

The high bailiffs were formerly choſen, by vote, by the great council: but they have now been choſen by lot for about eighty years. Melancholy neceſſity, after long experience, has taught them that the blindneſs of chance had better be truſted, than the too frequent

frequent partiality of man. That however was not the only reaſon, why this change took place: it was in order to prevent thoſe who aſpire to this office from being dependant on the powerful members of the council, whoſe votes they would have found ſo uſeful. That ſtate is half loſt, the rulers of which are become dependant on each other by unforeſeen cauſes. The dependance, which man muſt unavoidably have on man, can only be ſimple, natural, and juſt, when it is accompanied by talents, and virtue: and even then it is too frequently dangerous. The Athenians limited it by oſtraciſm: the people of Syracuſe by petaliſm *.

The bailiwicks are divided into four claſſes; according to their importance and revenues; and are frequently very lucrative. No man can be high bailiff of the firſt claſs above once; twice of the ſecond claſs; and three times of the third and fourth; and the latter muſt be at intervals. The high bailiff continues in

* In Athens, when any man became dangerouſly powerful, it was cuſtomary for the people to write his name on an oyſter ſhell, and thus baniſh him. In Syracuſe, they wrote on a leaf. The term of baniſhment from Athens was ten years: from Syracuſe five. T.

office ſix years; and each annually lays his accounts before the committee of finance. Their power is very great. To them is the police, the execution of the orders of the council, the diſpoſal of the public money, and of the corn granary, the appeals from the ſmall courts, and the power of pronouncing ſentence, when complainants bring their cauſes before them, entruſted.

Diſcontents, at the abuſe of this power, were formerly frequent. About a hundred and forty years ago, various acts of oppreſſion and tyranny occaſioned an inſurrection: but wiſe and effectual regulations are certainly now, and long have been, adopted. An appeal is open to every peaſant; or, ſhould he prefer that, he may complain to the little council. Penalties are not at will, but determinate. Perſonal injuries, which in ſo many countries ſilence the complaints of the peaſant, who dreads the power of his oppreſſor, are here impoſſible. Hence, I may ſay, that the countryman is the beloved, nay the ſpoiled, child of the government of Berne. The country people well know this; and I may ſafely aſſert that the lower orders of people are no where in the world ſo well ſatisfied as in the

cantons

cantons of Berne and Zürich. I do not include the democratic cantons; becauſe in them there is no diſtinction of rank.

The clergy muſt have been educated either at Berne or Lauſanne. The ſmall council nominates to the provincial benefices: the collective council to thoſe of Berne. The clergy of the German diſtricts are divided into eight ſynods: each of which aſſembles once a year. The Pays de Vaud has five ſynods. Moral offences, eſpecially thoſe againſt the ſixth commandment, fall under the cenſure of the leſſer conſiſtories: to which likewiſe affairs of marriage and divorce are committed. The proceedings are ſent to the high conſiſtory of Berne: which is a mixture of citizens, laymen, and clergymen.

The clergy have little power in worldly affairs: except that their office gives them great influence. This is as it ought to be. It frequently happens that young men of rank dedicate themſelves to the church.

The people are regularly trained to arms, and annually muſtered. They are divided into one-and-twenty regiments of foot, each two thouſand ſtrong; and four companies of jagers, or light horſe, and eighteen of dragoons.

goons. Beſide theſe, the perſons who hold eſtates, that confer titles of nobility, raiſe ſeveral companies of horſe. No ſoldier, whether horſe or foot, dare marry, till he has firſt provided himſelf with his uniform, arms, and accoutrements. This is the dreſs of the bridegroom. The dragoon muſt provide himſelf with a horſe: but this is no great difficulty; for, as a farmer, he muſt keep many horſes.

The arſenal is well ſtored: it contains above a thouſand cannon, many mortars, muſkets for ſixty thouſand men, and ſufficient arms for the cavalry. There are three companies of cannoneers, and one of bombardeers, for the artillery.

The revenues of the ſtate are not large; yet ſufficient for a republic, the rulers of which have moſt of them no ſalary, and the reſt very little, and which maintains no ſtanding army. Theſe revenues chiefly conſiſt in ſome domains, the tythes, a certain ſmall ground rent, the ſixth part of the allodial fines of the fiefs in the Pays de Vaud, the tenths of thoſe inheritances in this ſame country which do not deſcend to the next heir, certain trifling tolls, and the monopoly of ſalt. Of this monopoly

nopoly no one complains; for it is ſold cheaper by the government than it could be afforded by the trader. I muſt likewiſe add to them the intereſt paid for the outſtanding capital; which, at preſent, amounts to ſeven hundred thouſand pounds Bernois: that is, ſomething more than two hundred thouſand rix dollars.

It is probable that the treaſury of the republic is rich; and it would annually increaſe, but for its numerous expences in public buildings, inſtitutions, and high roads.

There is a remarkable cuſtom, which proves the wiſdom of their anceſtors, but which is now very much on the decline. This is what is called the Aeuſſeren Stand *; which is the title of a community of young burghers, who form the model, or the mimic counterpart, of the republic. Formerly they determined on war, peace, and alliance; and treated on chimerical affairs with great induſtry and ardour. They now only ſhare the dignities of the republic among themſelves. Each who holds theſe ideal dignities

* Exterior State.

pays ſomething into the treaſury. The ſociety, however, is become conſiderably in debt: for the young gentlemen are more buſied about parties of pleaſure, and tavern dinners, than in moral or political enquiries. They have well characterized their mimicry, and emblematically repreſented the condition of their declining finances, when they choſe an ape, riding upon a crab, for their arms. The only remains of this once noble inſtitution are now its delinquencies. Every aſſociate, in this ſociety, is ſure to be voted for in the great council; although he ſhould have been admitted a member only the evening before election.

I have neither been able, nor deſirous, to give you any thing more than an outline of the conſtitution of this republic; againſt which the people of other countries have conceived great prejudices. At a firſt view, it is ſuppoſed to be an oligarchy; which is certainly not to its advantage. This the chiefs of the republic have perceived; and, adopting the advice of the great Haller, whoſe memory is revered by his countrymen, they have admitted more families of the burghers into the government. Each burgher is now capable

of

of admiſſion: whereas formerly none but ſelect families had this capability, though the burghers were numerous.

There is one principal feature, which diſtinguiſhes the ariſtocratic conſtitutions of Switzerland from all others: a feature deciſively in favour of the freedom of the people, and which can never be ſufficiently admired.

The government has no ſoldiers in its pay: and all the ſubjects of this warlike people are armed.

Real tranquillity, happineſs, and freedom, combined with the perception of their ſtrength which ſecures them in their preſent condition, place the inhabitants of theſe ſtates in a high degree of ſatisfaction. This ſatisfaction, in the German diſtricts of the republic, is univerſal and unlimited. Of the diſcontents which have prevailed in the Pays de Vaud I will give you ſome account, when I come to that country.

Though agriculture, in Berne, is induſtriouſly purſued, yet ſo numerous are its mountains, and ſo great its population (for freedom lives not on bread alone), the corn it grows is not ſufficient for its own conſumption. The trade of the country is ſcarcely conſiderable enough to ſupply the deficiency: it

it is very trifling indeed, except in Aargau, the Pays de Vaud, and Emmenthal; and the balance would be entirely againſt Berne, were it not for the ſumptuary laws. Precious ſtones, and gold and ſilver lace, are forbidden: ſo likewiſe are foreign wines, unleſs, eſpecial permiſſion be firſt procured. Theſe regulations, in addition to their ſmall but active commerce, and the intereſt of money, which not only the ſtate but various individuals draw, from foreign countries, maintain the balance of trade.

I aſcribe the little uſe which the town of Berne makes of its ſituation on the Aar, to the warlike ſpirit of former times. Thoſe families which take part in the' government are the deſcendants of a race of bold warriors. They have imbibed and imparted the ſentiments of their anceſtors: and happy is the land where ſuch ſentiments prevail.

Ariſtocrats would oppreſs, were the trade in their hands. They would be eaſily induced to monopolize, and limit the trade of their inferiors: add to which, the ſpirit of trade but ill agrees with a certain dignity of thinking, and acting. However happy the countryman of Zürich may in other reſpects feel himſelf,

himſelf, he complains, and not without reaſon, of the fetters which the town lays upon trade. Like the noble Romans of the good republican ages, the importance of the citizen of Berne, and after his example that of the countryman, is eaſily awakened.

The œconomical community have done much good by their writings and prize medals. That they are actuated by a noble ſpirit what I am going to mention will prove. They have been reproached with having no Inſurance offices in this country. So long, ſay they, as the chriſtian ſpirit of benevolence ſhall animate the people of our country, and of our towns, ſuch inſtitutions are unneceſſary: or, rather, would injure this ſpirit.

The anſwer is truly characteriſtic of the Swiſs, in general. If fire, inundation, dearth, or any other misfortune of the kind, befall individuals or whole communities, aid pours in from every quarter. At Küſnacht, in the canton of Zürich, about twelve years ago, a rivulet overflowed, ſwept away eight-and-twenty houſes, and ſixty-three people: and not only did their neighbours, but people beyond the limits of the canton, generouſly come

to

to their aid. A few years ago, many families in the Pays de Vaud were in diſtreſs, from an accidental dearth; and ſo much money was ſent to the clergy, from all parts, to be diſtributed, that they were obliged to require no more might be ſent.

It is particularly to the honour of Berne that, from the times of their enterpriſing warlike nobles, they have ſtill retained the generoſity of their anceſtors; and, for centuries paſt, Berne has renounced its luſt of conqueſt. The wars waged againſt her counts and neighbours were not all juſtifiable: and, to uſe a mild expreſſion, the conqueſt of the Pays de Vaud was at leaſt of doubtful morality. But they now no longer indulge plans of aggrandiſement. All Switzerland loves the government of Berne: particularly the little democratic cantons. It is honoured by them all, as a peace-loving, noble, generous, member of the confederacy. It is delightful to hear the burgher of Berne urge, in the full warmth and rectitude of his heart, the patriotiſm of his countrymen; who would take advantage of no neighbour, and ſtill leſs indulge themſelves in ſowing the ſeeds of diſcord

cord among the little free ſtates; but are much rather attentive to ſpread and maintain brotherly unity.

I cannot conclude this letter, without endeavouring to impreſs the two following propoſitions: although I have before mentioned them.

Leſs attention ought to be paid to the forms, than to the ſpirit, of any conſtitution. This ſpirit is communicated from century to century, and from race to race; however its forms may be modified.

A wakeful people, who love freedom, are free; if they have but arms in their hands; however defenceleſs their government may be.

To conclude, the peace and happineſs felt by the lower orders, under the ariſtocratic conſtitutions of Switzerland, denote not only the ſpirit of the government, but, likewiſe, the noble ſpirit of the people; who, more enlightened than their neighbours, more alert, more animated, than other country people, prove that that conſtitution muſt be excellent, where ſecurity, liberty, and property, are preſerved.

A ſingle, but well founded, objection remains, againſt the people of Berne: the great

expence

expence of their lawſuits. But the government is aſſiduouſly active, in its endeavours to cure this abuſe.

LETTER XX.

Berne, 22d September 1791.

IT was a great pleaſure to me, yeſterday, to take my ſon, and ſhew him the arſenal. I had ſeen it on my firſt journey. It is important, becauſe of its terrific ſtores, and new arms; and remarkable, to a traveller, for its antient Swiſs and Burgundian armour. The prodigious two-handed ſwords, and long ſpears, are dreadfully cumbrous. We wonder at the uncommon ſtrength of our forefathers; who, it is evident from the remaining armour and jack boots, were not larger than we are. The farmers in general, in the canton of Berne, as well as in the three firſt cantons, Schweitz, Uri, and Unterwald, who are remarkably handſome men, are frequently

quently too large for this armour: yet, muſcular and ſtrong as they are, I ſhould ſcarcely expect them to wield theſe ſwords, or bear theſe ſpears. The banners of Burgundy, which they ſhewed me, and the ropes in which the Swiſs were to be bound, are preſerved and exhibited in a truly republican ſpirit.

There are likewiſe here the wooden image of William Tell, in the act of ſhooting the apple from the head of his ſon; and of Berthold the fifth, duke of Zähringen, the founder of the city. The building is a bad one, and does not correſpond to the greatneſs of its deſtination.

The hoſpitals are both of them very beautiful. One is called the Inſel; or Iſland; becauſe of its detached ſituation. The ſick of all nations are here carefully nurſed, and dreſſed, in roomy apartments; from which there is a full proſpect of the great chain of diſtant glaciers.

Equally remarkable is the other great hoſpital; which much rather reſembles the palace of a prince than the abode of the poor. Yet not the leaſt convenience is ſacrificed to magnificence, which is ſo frequently the caſe in monarchical ſtates. The front gives an im-

preſſion of greatneſs; which impreſſion is much increaſed, when the reader feels the full meaning of the inſcription: *Chriſto in pauperibus:* To Chriſt in the poor. We then went into the great court, included within the four ſides of this ſtructure. The kitchen garden lies between the hoſpital and the town; and every poſſible care has been taken, that the free air ſhould be enjoyed, as much as its ſituation, which is in the town, would permit. The court is a verdant lawn, planted with trees, and numerous flowers; and a fountain is in the centre. Fifty perſons, ſome of them poor, others ſick, are here ſupported. Beſide which, others are lodged and maintained at a ſmall expence.

There is likewiſe, in this hoſpital, a ſeparate part for poor travellers. In the evening, they are ſupplied with bread, wine, and a bed. In the morning, they receive a breakfaſt; which is likewiſe of bread and wine; and a ſmall ſupply of money. There is alſo, near the town, a very large and handſome receptacle for the lunatic, the venereal, and incurable. In what is called the orphan-houſe, which is not intended for orphans only but for other children of the burghers, forty boys,

boys, for the ſmall annual ſum of thirty ſix dollars, are fed, clothed, and inſtructed in the chriſtian religion, reading, writing, arithmetic, German, French, Latin, Greek, hiſtory, geography, mathematics, ſinging, and drawing. Profeſſor Ith, a meritorious gentleman, has planned their courſe of ſtudy. This houſe likewiſe ſtands detached; and enjoys a clear air and a free proſpect of the meanderings of the Aar.

There is a peculiar character, of humane and friendly benevolence, diſcoverable in all the public inſtitutions throughout Switzerland. Their founders have not endeavoured to ſupply the needful alone, but the invigorating; after the excellent example of thoſe who, with the nutritive wheat, permit the growth of the lovely blue flower the cryſtal dews of which emit a lively odour.

In the library, to which a new hall has been added, there is a bronze baſſo-relievo, dug up at Lauſanne, which repreſents a prieſt pouring out a libation between the horns of an ox. Addiſon mentions it, in his Travels. Here is likewiſe a prodigious piece of cryſtal; perhaps the largeſt in Europe.

The cathedral is one of the fineſt and largeſt

I have ſeen: thoſe of Straſburg and Ulm only can be compared to it. Before it is a ſpacious walk of trees, on a bold and elevated terrace; which commands a proſpect of the whole town, of the windings of the Aar, and eſpecially of the great chain of glaciers.

I and ſome friends went to the top of the cathedral; where we enjoyed one of the nobleſt proſpects that the eye of man can embrace. To the left, I ſaw a long ſtretch of Mount Jura, extending from Baſle to the lake of Geneva; and, to the right, the more lofty glaciers, with their inacceſſible ſummits, in the following order: firſt the Engelberg, in the canton of Unterwald; and then the chain of the glaciers of Berne; Schreckhorn, Finſter-Alhorn, Fiſchhorn, both the Eiger, the Jungfrau, Breithorn, and Groſshorn, the red Zähne, the Blümlialpe, and the Gemmi.

The money for building this cathedral, like as for building St. Peter's at Rome, was collected through all Europe; for which purpoſe, the Pope granted his indulgences.

The houſes are built with arcades; under which are ſhops. Theſe arcades ſhelter the foot paſſenger from rain and heat. The granaries are well built, and an ornament to the town;

town; and the uſe to which the government puts them is deſerving of praiſe. Corn is collected here in great quantities; not, as in Geneva, to oblige the baker to purchaſe there, but to prevent the price being exceſſive. Berne has often furniſhed neighbouring ſtates with corn; and, ſome few years ſince, it generouſly aſſiſted Geneva, to its own loſs. The ſupplies likewiſe which it laſt year granted the Pays de Vaud incurred a loſs of half a million of dollars.

Not to mention the politeneſs and true urbanity with which ſtrangers are here received, I cannot ſufficiently praiſe the hearty welcome with which perſons whom I had only curſorily ſeen, ſixteen years ago, remembered me; or the good upon good, the friendſhip upon friendſhip, which they beſtowed.

The air here is ſo healthy that the regiſter for centuries proves, that one man in three attains the age of ſeventy. This ſanity of air is aſcribed to its high ſituation, the neighbourhood of the glaciers, and the curvings of the rapid Aar. On an average compariſon of the tables of Süſsmilch*, between this and other

* I ſuppoſe this to be the name of an author, with whom I am unacquainted. T.

places, the advantage in favour of Berne is as twenty-eight to twenty-four.

We left Berne in the morning; and I cannot conclude this letter without blaming, though unwillingly, a very bad cuſtom, which, however harmleſs it might have been in more ſimple ages, is certainly pernicious at preſent.

In antient times, a cuſtom was introduced in the German diſtricts of the canton of Berne, that a maiden, having once received the holy ſacrament, ſhould every Saturday evening leave her chamber door open, and receive a young man in bed. Improbable as it may appear, in thoſe days ſuch nightly viſits were ſeldom attended with the conſequences that might well have been expected. The lover left the maiden as innocent as he found her; and continued to repeat his viſits. This was called going to *kilt;* or to *kilp: kilpen*, or *kilten*, is a phraſe which only ſignified a viſit after ſupper. But this cuſtom, which even then was improper, for it could not but ſully the innocence of the heart, is now become much more reprehenſible. It is at preſent very diſreputable for a young village girl to admit of a ſecond lover, before ſhe has diſcarded the firſt: but ſhe may have ſeveral

lovers in a ſhort time, without incurring any blame; although ſuch viſits are no longer as harmleſs as they formerly were. Should ſhe be with child, the ſeducer muſt marry her: but ſhe ſeldom knows who the father is; and therefore ſhe is at liberty to chooſe which of the lovers ſhe pleaſes as the father.

So rooted is the prejudice in favour of this cuſtom, that the old people encourage it; and a chaſte young woman, among the village girls, is rarely to be found. They make faithful and affectionate wives: neither do they bluſh at the follies committed before marriage; which they do not conſider as follies, and which the ſobereſt matron among them would not puniſh as ſuch.

I can conceive how difficult it muſt be to extirpate a prejudice from a country where it has taken ſuch deep root: but ſo wiſe a government as this ſhould not be terrified at difficulties, when the chaſtity of women and the virtue of men are ſo intimately concerned. A cuſtom like this might have been expected among the inhabitants of the ſouth ſea iſlands, rather than in the largeſt canton in Switzerland: a country which is ſo juſtly celebrated for the purity of its manners. How blamable

is this cuſtom, compared to that of the ſavages of North America! If a young man there wiſhes to eſpouſe a maiden, he goes by night with a lighted candle into her hut, and places himſelf by her bedſide. Should ſhe diſapprove his courtſhip, ſhe gives a ſign with her hand; and he retires without a murmur. If, on the contrary, ſhe is pleaſed, ſhe riſes half up in her bed; while ſweet modeſty binds her tongue; and, as a token of approbation, blows out the light. Well might the antients celebrate their Penelope, who, when her father aſked her whether ſhe would remain with him or follow her huſband, made no reply; but, concealing her face with her veil, thereby declared in favour of Ulyſſes. With equal delicacy of feeling, the American virgin gives the young ſavage her permiſſion, by blowing out the light before ſhe takes him to her arms.

LET-

LETTER XXI.

Lauſanne, 27th September 1791.

WE departed from Berne on the 23d, and arrived here yeſterday evening. You will perceive we continue our circuitous mode of travelling: but who indeed would wiſh to travel otherwiſe, in a country like this? To examine it as it deſerves, a man muſt not travel poſt; but as if he went to take a walk for his recreation.

About noon, we arrived at the lake of Bieler; which is thus called after the town and ſmall republic of Biel, that is ſituated on the eaſt ſhore. It is four leagues in length, and one in breadth; and is ſurrounded by the canton of Berne, the principality of Neufchatel, and the biſhopric of Baſle.

This lake has its peculiar beauties. Among hills, that gently riſe from the ſhore, are meadows, paſture land, corn fields, vineyards, and woods, intermingled with unceaſing variety. Numerous ſmall towns, villages, and hamlets, prove the population of this diſtinguiſhed

country. In the middle of the lake, the Peter's iſland riſes; its verdant ſhores crowned with trees, and, on the weſt, gently declining with hanging vineyards.

This iſland belongs to the rich hoſpital in Berne. The purveyor of the hoſpital inhabits the houſe, under the ſhore, in which Jean Jacques Rouſſeau, for a ſhort time, reſided. We went into his chamber; every corner and plank of which are ſcribbled over, by travellers, in all languages. From his own narrative, we feelingly perceive that this extraordinary man, after ſo many of the ſtorms of life, ſo many imaginary and ſo many real perſecutions, here found that calm of which his ardent ſoul was ſtill capable. Let it not be ſaid that he did not actually find in this place that profound tranquillity, that ſweet forgetfulneſs of the ſorrows of a life of anguiſh, and thoſe gentle dreams many of which were well worthy of the night-watching ſage and his ſolitary lamp.

Among the grand beauties of this iſland, entangled as we often were by the thick and impervious buſhes, paſſing as we continually did under the lofty oak, the cheſnut, the aſh, and the duſky ſhades of various fruit trees; the

lake

lake now entirely loſt, and now as ſuddenly ſeen, delighted by the ſenſations which fertile nature every where inſpired, we ſometimes forgot the philoſophic hermit; but we as often found him again. Here, ſaid we, did the penſive Jean Jacques ruminate. On this ſteep height, and, glowing with all the delightful ſweets of conſcious rectitude, he contemplated the clear waters of the lake. Here did he calm his too ardent ſenſibility, by viewing the dewy plants, which he took ſo much pleaſure to collect. Under this rock, reclining in a boat, he touched the ſoft flute. Yonder is the diminutive iſland, which he peopled with rabbits: that ſmall ſpot, which, comparatively, makes the mother iſland a continent.

We took our meal on the iſland. Not far from the houſe is a round pavilion, in which, during the vintage, the young people of the neighbourhood aſſemble, every Sunday in the afternoon, to dance.

As we left the iſland, we were awakened by the recollection of what muſt have been the ſenſations of Rouſſeau, when he was obliged to leave this place of refuge; to which he had ſo earneſtly wiſhed it were his good fortune to have been baniſhed. Poor Jean Jacques! I acknow-

acknowledge that even thou hadſt thy imperfections. Often am I obliged to recollect thy miſtaken feelings, the ſtrange weakneſs of thy ſingular ſoul, thy unexampled mixture of pliant confidence, and gloomy miſanthropy, thy meanneſs, and thy dignity! May the earth lie light upon thee!

We took boat, touched on the territories of Neufchatel, and in the evening came to Arlach; a ſmall town in the canton of Berne, lying on the north ſide of the lake which bears its name.

This lake is nine leagues long, and two broad. The town, which is exceedingly well built, contains about three thouſand inhabitants. The council-houſe is a noble piece of architecture; and the hall, in which the lords of the council aſſemble, combines republican dignity with modern embelliſhment. This building is erected with money left by a rich burgher of Neufchatel, whoſe name was Pury, and will be finiſhed in the preſent year. The town has a poor-houſe, and a hoſpital. The granary is capacious, and built in a good ſtyle. Large corn magazines are found in every town in Switzerland; which is ſo populous that this precaution is quite neceſſary. The

buildings, appropriated to this uſe, every where diſcover the ſimple grandeur of architecture. A free people always have a fine feeling of the dignity of man: whatever is dedicated to the ſervice of the community, bears the great and ſacred character of its deſignation.

The proſpect toward the lake is delightful. Facing the town, on each ſide of the ſhore, the craggy mountains of the canton of Freiburg riſe. The diſtant glaciers of Berne, which I remember appeared deceitfully near, towering as it were at my feet, were now clouded.

The county of Vallangin and the principality of Neufchatel, united, are ten leagues in length, and five in their greateſt breadth. They are ſuppoſed to contain forty thouſand inhabitants. In the year 1707, their race of princes became extinct; and the inhabitants choſe Frederic the firſt, King of Pruſſia, for their prince; as heir to the houſe of Chalons; after having firſt ſtipulated for their reciprocal rights. In default of male heirs, the principality deſcends to the female. The repreſentative of the king ſwore to leave the rights, liberties, and cuſtoms, written and unwritten, unmoleſted.

unmoleſted. The repreſentatives of the country, in return, took the oath of allegiance.

All the affairs of government are to be diſcuſſed in the ſtate. The king, being abſent, can only govern through the intervention of his *ſtatthalter*, and the council. By the ſtate, and by the laws of the conſtitution, alone, can any individual citizen be judged. The king has no claims over the country, except as prince of Neufchatel. It takes no part in his wars: it remained firm to its alliance with France, during the ſeven years war; and the king was obliged to ſuffer the two companies of Neufchatel, that were in the French ſervice, to fight againſt him.

In this happy land, no judge dare confine any individual, who has not undergone a previous examination. Pains and penalties are limited, by laws that are inviolable; and, when inflicted, are mild. The only privilege of the prince is that of mitigating or remitting puniſhment. He dares not impoſe new taxes; and the old are trifling. Trade is entirely free: the people of Neufchatel pay no duties, either of export or import. The revenues of the King are farmed; and annually produce about twenty-five thouſand rix dollars.

This

This little country has great difference of climate. The ſouth part, toward the lake, enjoys a very mild air. Wine, with every kind of grain, and fruit, are produced here, as in the Pays de Vaud. The ſeaſons of the north on the contrary, including a part of Mount Jura, are rude; and the lands with difficulty produce oats and barley: however, the country here is very populous, which is owing to the ſkill and induſtry of its inhabitants. A deſcription, which was given us, by profeſſor Ith, of the people of theſe mountains, and of their great natural beauty, induced us to make a ſhort journey thither; which has given me inexpreſſible pleaſure.

Having firſt made our obſervations on Neufchatel, we ſet out early on the 24th for this purpoſe. Near the town, at the foot of the mountains, we met with fruitful fields. The lands were enriched with the growing wheat and rye. Our aſcent was gradual; and corn fields gradually diſappeared: but every where the beauty and ſtrength of the herbage, and the plants, were admirable. We frequently met with flowers, which, in lower ſituations, bloom in the ſpring. I plucked a field roſe, whoſe ſtrong and freſh odour was invigorating;

ing; like that kind of aromatic perfume, which is only to be met with in high lands*.

The road was ſteep, and very uneven. High rocks, ſometimes naked, at others clad with green trees, were frequent on the right. To the left, in valleys of ſteep deſcent, were noble woods of beech and pine. Between theſe woods, ſpacious openings to the lake proffered themſelves; through which we ſaw the gentler beauties of its ſhores. The green paſtures between the rocks were overgrown with the large yellow gentian; the tall flowers of which, during ſummer, give great beauty to theſe countries.

After travelling three leagues, we came to the top of a hill; on which were a few ſcattered houſes. This reſting place is called La Tour. While our horſes were baiting, we felt the mountain air had ſharpened our appetites for a ſecond breakfaſt; a thing unknown to

* In places which are cold becauſe of their northern latitude, the vegetation is feeble: but it is not the ſame with places that are cold becauſe of their elevation. The high Alps have a ſhorter ſummer, and a more ſevere winter, than places that lie between fifty-ſix and fifty-eight degrees of latitude: yet their vegetation is uncommonly vigorous.

the

the inhabitants of plains. They gave us excellent butter and honey; and we men took a ſtrengthening draught of the Switzerland Kirſchwaſſer †, which is neither inferior in ſtrength nor taſte to the Dantzic Goldwaſſer ‡.

We again joyouſly ſet forward on our journey. You know how excellent a traveller Sophia is: few women would be able to make ſuch a journey. The road was ſteep, and rocky; and we frequently turned ſuddenly upon fearful precipices, that lay on our left. The traveller muſt depend on the caution of his guide, the ſtrength of his ſure footed horſes, and the goodneſs of his carriage. Add to which, to enjoy a journey like this, his mind muſt be undiſturbed.

Here we beheld unuſually beautiful pines, on the ſides of the mountain, mixed with tall ſlender beeches, which ſtill tower covered with a freſh ſummer green. Between their charming foliage, verdant valleys appeared, on which cattle were grazing; and large paſtures lay among the rocks to our right.

After we had paſſed La Tour about three leagues, we came to a place where the road

† Cherry Brandy. ‡ Dantzic Brandy.

was

was a very ſteep deſcent; and ſaw, in an elevated valley, the handſome village of Locle, lying below and before us. This whole diſtrict, which belongs to the county of Vallengin, about the beginning of the fourteenth century was uninhabited. It is called after its chief village, Locle, is about two leagues and a half in length, and one in breadth, and was peopled by wild beaſts; when a man, named Droz de Corcelles, who came from the ſouth part of Neufchatel, being protected by two lords of Vallengin, undertook, with his four ſons, to clear and cultivate this ſpot of earth. Rocks, precipices, moraſſes, and places overgrown with trees, which, during eight months in the year were under the rigorous dominion of winter, had no terrors for him. He here eſtabliſhed a little free colony; which took its origin about the year in which the confederates obtained their liberty, by ſhaking off the yoke of the Auſtrian *Zwingherrn*. Such was the ſpirit of freedom which breathed over all Helvetia; and to this ſublime ſpirit has the high valley of Locle been indebted, for its proſperity, during five hundred years. How does a man learn in Switzerland to feel the energy of Haller's muſe, where he ſays,

Da wo die Freiheit wohnt, wird alle mühe minder,
Die felſen ſelbſt beblümt, und Boreas gelinder* !

In theſe rough valleys, you find a village many of the houſes of which would become a town. The church is a large and noble edifice. Their bells, eſteemed the beſt in Switzerland, reſound through the whole valley; and call a free, virtuous, and happy people, who to the pleaſure of the paſtoral life add an intelligent and active induſtry, to give thanks in the temple of their Holy Father.

The pavement and the fountains denote the ſpirit of a free community ; which conſults the convenience and benefit of its citizens. There is a large weekly market here. We arrived on the Saturday ; and the kind looking market people ſwarmed, through the clean ſtreets of the village, like a neſt of ants. Places, that were formerly the dens of wolves and bears, are now the abode of mechanical knowledge, and enlightened induſtry. The father and ſon, whoſe name is Droz, whoſe ſcientific automatons are celebrated throughout Europe, and who are the deſcendants of the founder

* Where Freedom dwells, ſhe every care beguiles !
The rocks are fruitful, and the winter ſmiles ! T.

of this community, are now living. Mills have here been built in deep pits, which are driven by ſubterranean ſtreams.

Watchmakers, laceweavers, goldſmiths, cutlers, workers in enamel, iron, and ſteel, people theſe diſtricts. A country life, and the mountain air, here keep men like theſe healthy and robuſt; who, from their ſedentary employment, in towns, are ſo frequently weak, and effeminate.

As the weather was gloomy, and as we learnt that we were ſtill two good leagues diſtant from the waterfall of Doux, the day too being on the decline, we determined to delay our excurſion till the morrow; hoping for better weather, and putting our truſt in the peculiar character of this fine year. We went however to Chaux de Fond; which is a league and a half from Locle, and nearly on the ſame level.

This valley is two leagues long, is divided into eleven parts, and, excluſive of the villages, is every where ſcattered over with houſes. Here, under the wing of freedom, inhabit induſtry, order, art, and proſperity. Here, the inhabitants are maintained by their manufactures, and the excellence of their paſtures.

paſtures. The number of theſe inhabitants is about three thouſand; four hundred of whom are watchmakers. Each part of the watch is made by its particular workman. This increaſes the accuracy of the work, and the dexterity of the artiſt, and lowers the price of the watch. We went to one of the principal manufactories; where they ſhewed us watches of great beauty, and inſtruments that ſhew the courſe of the ſun; which conſequently muſt be adjuſted according to the latitude. From ten to ſixteen thouſand watches and many clocks are annually made here.

Sixteen hundred women are ſuppoſed to be employed in the lace manufactory; and in this valley, as well as in that of Locle, new mechanical inſtruments are often invented. Many Germans are to be met with here. It has likewiſe four large mills, the wheels of which are worked under ground. We were told that one of theſe wheels puts eight ſaws in motion.

The ſale of their cattle in part ſupplies their deficiency of corn; and the labours of their mechanics enrich the whole land.

In Switzerland, Nature is a fruitful, healthy, and loving, mother. Ever pregnant, ſhe

ſcarcely has time to give her children the breaſt. Happy children, that imbibe freedom with their mother's milk! Benevolent nurſe, that preſſes them to her ſoft glowing boſom! Rocks, mountains, and barren places, proſper and ſmile on theſe her paſtoral ſons.

We returned to Locle early on the 25th, and met our hoſt again with pleaſure. The man is eighty-three; his wife ſeventy-ſeven. They have been ſixty years married. The worthy old Baucis informed me, with heartfelt delight, that they were the parent ſtock of ſeventy-ſeven living deſcendants.

The good people had procured a *char à banc* for us, to viſit the fall of the Doux. We aſcended and deſcended two very ſteep heights. It is in vain to be afraid, among ſhort turnings like thoſe we paſſed; where the road often diſappears, and a precipice only is ſeen. The guide ran beſide us; and frequently, in narrow roads, preſſed as it were between the cliff and the carriage, he leapt like a wild goat from rock to rock. The way is wonderfully pleaſant. Rocks, covered with ſhrubs and trees, ſome low and ſtrong, others tall and ſlender, proſpects that open and ſhut upon the verdant valleys, and at length a downward glimpſe

of

of the ſmall Doux, which ſeparates Neufchatel from Franche Comté, running over a rocky bed to the lake, which from a French village is called *Lac de Mouron*; all theſe objects delight the eye, in an indeſcribable manner, and make the heart overflow with pleaſure.

A ſudden deſcent into the valley brought us to the little village of Brenets. Here again we found watchmakers and mechanics. We alighted from our carriage, and took boat on the Doux; which here becomes broader; and, in a few minutes, we found ourſelves in that deep rocky gulph which is called the lake of Mouron. This lake, which frequently winds between ſteep cliffs, is ſo ſmall that it might eaſily be ſuppoſed to be the Doux; did not its depth denote its native ſources. Its craggy ſhores and naked cliffs ſometimes riſe, in fantaſtic forms, to the clouds; and ſometimes are covered with the dark pine. At others, their aſcent is more gradual: while the friendly beech and the clear green aſh, in all the vigour of vegetation, grow wild, and riſe in ſtories one above the other.

It was a charming day; and the dark blue of the heavens, the upright canopy only of which we could ſee, was contraſted with the

variegated verdure of the trees, and the dazzling walls of rock. A deep ſilence reigns here: except interrupted by the bleat of a ſtray goat, or the flight of the eagle.

Large eagles hovered over our heads, at an immeaſurable height; and only once ſeemed diſturbed, when our boatmen awakened ſlumbering echo with firing their guns. The waters of the lake have waſhed deep canals in the rock; cavities that are really wonderful, nay incredible; being certainly from twenty to thirty ells in height, and ſhewing what was formerly the height of the lake. In antient times, far indeed beyond the knowledge of the hiſtory of this country, the whole valley muſt have been a deep lake. Theſe outlets increaſe the phantom-like appearance of the rocks; where all that is ſtrange and admirable ſeems combined! where every beauty flouriſhes, and where the horrible crags and caverns are hung with flowers and innumerable ſhrubbery! Among the ſmall cliffs, beautiful trees take root; and on the top of one of the higheſt a tall pine grows, the bed of which, according to all appearance, is the bare ſtone.

We came at laſt to the end of the lake; and ſaw the dry bed of the river, which in ſummer

ſummer has no viſible courſe, but conceals itſelf under ground. We landed on the Neufchatel ſhore, and ſaw three French exciſe officers coming up to us; againſt whoſe impoſition we were warned by our boatman. They had lately, under ſome frivolous pretext, detained a traveller almoſt a whole day. We gave our pocket-books and money into the poſſeſſion of one of our guides, that we might not ſatisfy the curioſity of theſe Frenchmen, nor be obliged, as ſome travellers have been, to exchange our louis d'ors for aſſignats at forty per cent. diſcount. We continued our way with a determined air, which bordered on defiance, along the dry bed of the river. They let us paſs peaceably, although they had evidently come to examine us: but either our manner fettered their activity, or they did not hope to find much booty on people who had emptied their pockets in their very preſence.

After a few hundred paces, we came to a rocky height; where we again ſaw the Doux, on the other ſide of a deep but narrow valley, riſe out of the earth that had drunk in its waters; and in about thirty yards, exactly oppoſite to us, it fell perhaps eighty feet, impetuouſly, over rocks, into the valley.

The third part of its bed was not filled. At other ſeaſons of the year, or in a leſs dry ſummer, the force of the caſcade muſt be much greater: but, even then, I have no conception of the manner in which the earth imbibes its waters, or how they eſcape after their ſubterraneous paſſage.

We again took boat, again with pleaſure contemplated our lake and its rocks, and ſtopped to view a large rent, which divided a rock from the bottom to the top, and formed a deep cavity. We penetrated about fifty paces into this cavern; and ſhould have proceeded farther in the dark hole, if our boatman had not forgotten to bring a light. A man muſt be utterly void of imagination, who ſhould not, for a moment, ſuppoſe himſelf an inhabitant of this rocky gulph. His fancy will place him with a death's head, ſeated, like a repenting hermit: or he will think it the refuge either of a hunter, a herdſman, or a pair of lovers; who here, in innocence, affection, and freedom, live on the fiſh of the lake, the wild berries of the rock, and the milk of the ſkipping goat.

I own, I left this place with a kind of regret: with a fulneſs of heart.

We again took boat for Brenets, and were then

then carried in our char à banc to Locle. There we dined; hearing the ringing of the bells, which ſummoned the people to afternoon ſervice.

After dinner, we continued our journey back to La Tour. We now viewed the beautiful valley by ſunſhine; which, the day before, was leſs charming, becauſe the weather was bad. It was crowded with people, in their Sunday attire, who were ſeen walking and familiarly playing with their cattle. You know how fond the people of our country are of animals: but this fondneſs is nothing, when compared to the kind intercourſe that ſubſiſts between them and their owners in Switzerland. In mountainous diſtricts, tillage is not the daily care of the peaſant. His wealth is in his herd. At one appointed time, he drives his cattle to the Alps; and, at another, he brings them back. Nevertheleſs, the people of theſe valleys have a remarkable fondneſs for animals. We ſaw men, women, and children, careſſing the cows; and I never ſhall forget ſeeing a well looking man, with a woollen cap on his head, who ſtood his arms croſſed and ſatisfaction in his countenance, with his whole ſoul intent upon his large well fed ſpotted cow, that had a handſome metal

bell

bell hung round her neck, and the tinkling of which, at every ſtep ſhe made, delighted his ear. He took no notice of our carriage, as it rolled along. His eyes and ears were alike engroſſed by his cow.

It was late when we reached La Tour; and happy was it for us that we there found a man that knew the country: for we neither wiſhed to return by Neufchatel, nor could we have arrived there before night. We were therefore obliged to forſake the high road, and proceed along a ſteep narrow road acroſs the country, which brought us into places that were wholly unknown to the guide that came with us from Berne. We occaſionally paſſed ſteep rocks; and, had it not been for our new guide, we muſt have ſpent the night in the open air.

Soon after we had ſtruck into the bye road, we ſuddenly perceived a great alteration in the climate. On the mountains, and high plains, the air had been very ſharp; and, wherever the wind blew through the openings in the mountains, we found the cold as great as in the latter part of the month of November: but here we again met with fruit trees, and the air was not ſo rude.

At twilight, we arrived at the little town of Boudry;

Boudry; which belongs to Neufchatel: and early yesterday we pursued our road, and presently came to the lake of Neufchatel. We travelled by its side, with its frothy waves driven by the wind on our left, and the long promontory of the woody Jura on our right, and arrived in the forenoon at Yverdon.

A league before we came to Yverdon, we passed through Grandson. This town, and its bailiwick of the same name, belong in common to Berne and Freiburg. In the year 1476, the town was taken by Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy; who, contrary to his pledged faith, hanged a part of the garrison and drowned the rest. But soon afterward, on the third of March, in the very same year, and place, he was defeated by the Swiss. He lost his camp, his baggage, and his artillery. This battle was the harbinger of the great victory at Murten, by which he was humbled; and of the battle of Nancy, where the restless warrior lost his life.

Yverdon is among the oldest towns in Switzerland. It is one of the four towns of the Pays de Vaud which are called *Les quatres bonnes villes* *: these are Moudon, Yverdon, Morges, and Nyon. They have considerable

* The four good towns.

municipal

municipal rights, with a little and a great council; conſiſting of thirty-ſix perſons, the preſident of whom is a banneret.

There is an old caſtle, in Yverdon, with four towers, which was built in the twelfth century by Conrad, Duke of Zähringen. In this town, there is a ſociety, that collects voluntary alms for all the poor; to prevent begging, and keep the country free from the dirt, diſorder, and immorality, of mendicants.

The town is built at the ſouth end of the lake of Neufchatel, in a charming ſituation. It has beautiful alleys of the cheſnut, the linden, and the Italian poplar. It grieved me to ſee the trees, of one of the large linden walks, with their branches lopped, and their bark peeled all round; which ſhewed they were doomed to the axe. Here, as in other places, the large trees which were planted by our great great grandfathers are hewn down, and replaced by the Italian poplar. It is pleaded, in excuſe, that the trees grew old, and were in part decayed. It may be ſo; but, in my opinion, thoſe who fell the large linden to plant the ſtripling poplar would be very worthy of inhabiting the city of Abdera *.

In

* Abdera was an antient maritime town of Thrace; the

In the afternoon, we continued our journey, through very fertile regions. Two leagues from Lauſanne, we met with a marble obeliſk, erected in a village, on the four ſides of which was the following inſcription, in the Latin, German, French, and Engliſh languages:

PRAISE THE LORD, ALL YE PEOPLE!

We arrived here yeſterday evening, about duſk; too late to enjoy the beautiful proſpects of the lake.

LETTER XXII.

Lauſanne, 30th September 1791.

THE day before yeſterday, in the morning, we went down to the lake, and took boat, intending to make a two days voyage, to Vevay and the Savoy ſhore. We firſt how-

the inhabitants of which were ſubject to a kind of ſtupid phrenſy. T.

ever

ever proceeded to Meillerie, in Savoy. The day was clear, and increaſed the charms of the lake; the waters of which, in ſoft meanders, were loſt behind the hills, while to the left we ſaw their full extent; and, beyond them, the mountains of Valais, with their towering forked cliffs: among which we diſtinguiſhed that which is called *La dent de lament* *. Immediately before us were the wood-decked hills of Savoy, and the far-famed rocks of Meillerie.

This little village lies preſſed, as it were, between the waters of the lake and the riſing mountain. The rocks, which are a part of the mountain, are perpendicular to the lake; and leave but a ſmall ſpace between the cliff and the edge of the lake. As ſoon as we landed, we took a guide, to conduct us over the mountains. The road is often ſteep; and on the edge of deep precipices. The nether and middle region of the mountain are covered with walnut, and more eſpecially with cheſnut, trees; and above theſe grow the young beech, the ſervice tree, and other quick wood. We did not reach the ſummit of the mountain.

* Sorrow's tooth.

Sophia

Sophia and Erneſt remained on a charming verdant ſpot; where they had a full proſpect of the lake, and an amphitheatre formed by the mountains of Valais. The reſt of us took a truly goat-hunter's track; where one falſe ſtep would have hurled us headlong into the gulph below. Generally, however, we could catch at the young trees; or ſtay ourſelves by the jutting rocks.

By theſe means, we arrived among thoſe rocks which Rouſſeau very properly choſe as the retreat of a lover. We ſtood oppoſite to the celebrated Vevay, upon the glittering ſtone on which St. Preux inſcribed his Julia's name; and lay down on a large bed of rock, from which, immediately under us, in the middle of the lake, we could ſee the promontories reflected in its tranſparent blue green waters. Thick ſhrubs and buſhes were above our heads; and round us a ſolemn ſilence reigned, except that ſuddenly, now and then, a ſtone, hewn from ſome quarry, fell thundering; or we were alarmed by the loud deſcent of the pine tree, which, after being felled, is caſt from the top of the mountain to be ſhipped upon the lake.

The beauty of the proſpect, over the water,

to the populous banks of the Pays de Vaud, and to the high promontories of the Valais, beyond which the glaciers reared their heads, delighted and filled the mind: which ſinking into thoughtfulneſs felt happy at being awakened from contemplation by the various landſcape; and, with pleaſing dread, willingly reflected on the fearful ſolitarineſs of theſe abodes; where no eye ſees, no voice is heard, and no footſtep approaches.

We unwillingly tore ourſelves from this place, again clambered among the cliffs, and returned with Sophia and Erneſt to Meillerie. On our way we ſaw and heard the pine trees hewn, peeled, and rolled down. The ſtripped trunks are laid on the ſteepeſt declivities; from which they glide down, with ſuch incredible impetuoſity and rapidity that the guides always entreat their followers to be quick, in paſſing theſe tracks, leſt the yet unſeen and unheard trunks ſhould inſtantly ſweep them away, or cruſh them to atoms. Some of theſe ſteeps are ſo prodigious that a ſtone, ſet in motion, is a long while heard to roll, from rock to rock, before it reaches the valley.

We ſpent the mid-day at Meillerie, the inhabitants of which have neither corn fields nor

nor vineyards. Before and over their houſes are numerous tall poles, loaded with grapes as excellent as thoſe of the Pays de Vaud: but they are not in ſufficient quantities for the making of wine, and are therefore eaten. Few of the inhabitants are wealthy enough to keep a cow: they chiefly live on the produce of their walnut trees, the oil of which is expreſſed from the nut; and on their cheſnuts, which they barter for corn. Their principal food is cheſnuts, fiſh, and potatoes.

In the afternoon, we took boat to Vevay. The ſun ſet behind the ſhore of the lake, gilding the rocks with deep red and dark purple, and the glaciers with a vivid roſe colour, which continued exceedingly bright when we landed at the very duſk of the evening at Vevay.

Vevay is an old town. In the Itinerary of the Emperor Antonine, it is mentioned by the name of Viviſcum. In the German language, it is ſtill called Vivis. It is the next town in rank, of the Pays de Vaud, to Lauſanne; and is even more pleaſant than the latter, by its ſituation and the mildneſs of its climate. Like the other towns of the Pays de Vaud, it has its great and little council; with

many privileges. It contains one church, which is very handſome. Its high ſquare tower is ſeen at a great diſtance. The town is handſomely built, and inhabited by wealthy citizens. About the diſtance of a cannon ſhot to the eaſt, another little town is built; called *La Tour de Peyl*; which appears to make but one with Vevay.

Yeſterday morning, we aſcended the fine tower of the church of Vevay. A part of the hills were covered with clouds; and the valley, through which the Rhone runs into the lake, was ſo cloudy that it appeared to be a ſecond lake, which was divided from the true lake by a dam, and which communicated with it by a ſmall opening; which opening was the Rhone. Of this river, as of all thoſe that flow through lakes, the fable of the fiſhermen is, and which fable they believe, that its waters do not mix with the waters of the lake.

Vevay is ſurrounded with vineyard hills; and the wine is in great eſtimation. Mild however as the climate is, it is ſubject to very quick changes. On my firſt journey, I remember that I came here on the day when the vintage ended: it was the thirtieth of October, and late in the evening, and I then ate white

white figs and the grapes that had been laſt gathered. The evening was very mild; but the following night the froſt was ſo ſtrong that ice was to be ſeen, the next day, long after ſun-riſe.

Having left the tower, we took boat, to paſs over to the coaſts of Savoy. We once more, in our paſſage, ſaw the rocks of Meillerie; and we men, with Erneſt, landed two leagues from Evian, and proceeded on foot along a high path beſide the lake, through a continual wood of genuine cheſnut and ſome few nut trees. In Lower Germany, the legitimate cheſnut tree never attains any large ſize; and the fruit ſeldom ripens; but here, and indeed in moſt parts in Switzerland, particularly the ſouthern confines, the Italian diſtricts, and the Griſons, the fruit of the cheſnut tree frequently ſupplies the place of corn; and the growth of the trees is equal in height to the beech of Holſtein, and in ſtrength to the oak of Weſtphalia. I know no tree which I think preferable.

The country people were very buſy in gathering their walnuts. In my firſt journey, I had frequent opportunities of aſſociating with the Savoyards. They are a cheerful, kind-

hearted people; who bitterly experience the oppreſſions of government; for they live and ſuffer in a very fertile country, while they behold their neighbours, in lands not ſo fruitful, proſperous, and ſignalized by the ſelf-evident bleſſings of freedom.

Evian is a little town, in which there are a few good houſes: but the greater part are the very reverſe. It was the cuſtom for the royal princes to come every year and remain here, for ſome months, to drink the waters of the ſprings; which riſe about a league above the town: but, for the three laſt years, they have been abſent. The inn, which our boatmen praiſed as the beſt in the place, was wretched: eſpecially by its total want of cleanlineſs; which is common in Savoy, and which is the more conſpicuous by being contraſted with the charming neatneſs of the Swiſs.

The fine weather, which has been ſo true to us through our whole journey, afforded us a favourable but a feeble wind back to Lauſanne. The ſmiling banks of the Pays de Vaud are juſtly celebrated; and yet I muſt own I far prefer the lofty ſhores of Savoy, with their rocks and foreſts of cheſnut.

Lauſanne is the largeſt town of the Pays de Vaud,

Vaud, and is built on a rising height, a short half league from the lake of Geneva. The houses are handsome; but the ground upon which they are built is so unequal that three horses are generally obliged to be harnessed abreast, to draw a coach up their steep streets. In the times of the Romans, it was called *Lausonium*, or *Lausanna:* but it is supposed to have been built lower, at that time, and nearer to the lake. In the sixteenth century, the bishopric of Avenche was transferred hither. Since the reformation, the bishop resides at Freiburg: though he still draws some little revenue from this place. Lausanne enjoyed great privileges even in the time of the bishops: but they have been much extended under the government of Berne.

Lausanne elects its own burgomaster, five bannerets, the little council, the council of sixty, and the great council of two hundred. The town holds its own upper and lower courts of justice. The government of Berne has reserved nothing for itself, except the rights of sovereignty, of arming soldiers, coining money, and that best of rights, the right of forgiving.

The academy, which was founded in the

year 1537, has been gradually enlarged. A profeſſorſhip of medicine was added, for the celebrated phyſician, Tiſſot. This gentleman is very highly valued for his perſonal qualities. It is delightful to hear the inhabitants of the town, after they have praiſed his underſtanding and his heart, conclude this praiſe by adding: He ſaved the life of my wife! He reſtored my mother to health! He ſnatched my two children from the grave!

The cathedral is very beautiful; though built in the gothic ſtyle. Facing the church, there is a walk planted with trees; from which there is a beautiful proſpect, toward the lake.

The hoſpital is large and magnificent. In this country, the benevolence of the inhabitants is greater than the neceſſities of the poor. This fine building is almoſt tenantleſs.

You muſt certainly have read, in the public papers, that the government of Berne has ſent above three thouſand men into the Pays de Vaud; more than two thouſand of whom have been quartered in this town for ſome weeks. I have no doubt but that our gazette writers, partly from ignorance, and partly becauſe they have their own reaſons for placing ſo many wiſe regulations of governments in a falſe

a falſe light, will miſrepreſent this ſtep. And miſrepreſent it they certainly will, if they pretend to underſtand the reaſon of it better than the perſons by whom it has been taken. Thus far we know, that the French, who in the preceding years have ſwarmed in this country, have ſpread a ſpirit of diſcontent. That this ſpirit has manifeſted itſelf in various ways, and that the malevolent have endeavoured to inculcate it among the people, is paſt all contradiction. Some perſons have been ſuddenly arreſted, and impriſoned, in a caſtle at the eaſtern end of the lake. The chief magiſtrates of the towns of the Pays de Vaud have been ſummoned to appear to-day; and were admoniſhed by a deputation from the government. The ſoldiers were under arms, to give the affair the greater ſolemnity. I thought that the feelings of the inhabitants would have burſt forth: but perſons of various ranks approve the proceeding of the government of Berne. They gave it to be underſtood that a fire was glowing under the aſhes, and that it muſt be immediately extinguiſhed.

A gentleman of this country, a man of property, and under no obligations to Berne, and another perſon, whoſe name would give

weight to his opinion were I allowed to mention it, both ſpoke the ſame language. I have not met any man in Berne, who did not ſpeak with regret of the neceſſity of this ſtep; and the moſt intelligent perſons of the Pays de Vaud praiſe the wiſdom and mildneſs of the government.

It is true that the nobility and the towns of this country, when they were ſubject to Savoy, exerciſed the right of aſſembling the ſtates. This right they loſt, in the year 1536, when they were conquered by the canton of Berne. The government of Berne, at that time, offered the nobility of the conquered country the right of citizenſhip: a right which would have entitled them to all the honourable offices of the republic: but this they declined, in expectation that the Duke of Savoy would again recover the country. Three families only accepted it; and by thoſe only it is now enjoyed. The conſtitution however is in a high degree free; and the ſpirit of the government is both mild and prudent.

The people are perfectly ſatisfied; and thoſe who would excite inſurrection, from the love of change, would find themſelves oppoſed by

by all claſſes. The poor citizens and the peaſants would be as eager, in reſiſting them, as the government itſelf. In the preceding year, this province was viſited by a general dearth; and the council of Berne ſupplied the inhabitants, from the ſtores that it had provided, with corn: by which a loſs was ſuſtained of fifteen hundred thouſand Berner pounds; which is more than ſix hundred thouſand rix dollars.

You know my opinions. You know that, from my childhood, I have been an enemy to all abſolute power; and no friend either to unlimited monarchies, or an ariſtocracy that reſembles an oligarchy; and I do not think I am in any danger of changing this opinion. In theſe times however, when freedom and deſpotiſm are exerciſed by the people, yes, by the people, or by their demagogues, they are ſo confounded, although they are directly contradictory, that I, with many others who are lovers of order and ſafety, may eaſily be miſunderſtood. My opinion is, that freedom is founded on laws, laws on morals, and morals on the fear of God. Yet I am not now, nor ever have been, of the opinion of Pope; who, in his well known diſtich, ſays——

For

For forms of government let fools conteſt;
Whate'er is beſt adminiſter'd is beſt *.

For there are certain forms that are inadmiſſible, in a good government; or at leaſt for any length of time; for they are derogatory to the dignity of man. Deep conſideration, and an attention to facts, have convinced me that very much indeed depends on the form, but ſtill more on the ſpirit, of a government. Ariſtotle, the moſt acute of all political philoſophers, ſo highly praiſes the form of the conſtitution of Carthage, that he aſſerts it was the very beſt he knew. And, yet who would venture to praiſe the ſpirit of this conſtitution? The form of the conſtitution of Berne is very wide of ideal excellence, ſuch as I can ſuppoſe to myſelf; for it borders on oligarchy: but the wiſdom, the grandeur, the benevolence, of its ſpirit induce it to adminiſter juſtice, as freely to the well-informed poor of the Pays de Vaud as to thoſe of the higher claſs.

The ſoldiers were to leave the country in a few days, and return to their cabins.

How hateful, how barbarous, is the rigorous diſcipline of mercenaries! As hateful as

* Eſſay on Man.

the

the very diſorders which theſe mercenaries are hired to repreſs! Yet this very rigour itſelf is ſcarcely ſufficient to keep them in ſubordination: while, from the officers of the free ſoldiers of a republic, a word is ſufficient. Thoſe who were inimical to their entrance here, yet, praiſe their deportment. Far from the rapacity of marauders, they ſcarcely would accept ſuch refreſhments as were offered them. Some ſoldiers were quartered on a rich burgher of Moudon, whoſe garden was full of ripe fruit. He was very unwilling to admit them; but, when they departed, he gave public teſtimony that his garden had never been better watched. They were as friendly with the inhabitants as if they had been fellow townſmen: nor did even the difference of language give occaſion to the leaſt miſunderſtanding.

It is pleaſant to ſee theſe people under arms. Headed by officers who have moſt of them been in foreign ſervice, and whoſe capacity foreigners celebrate, they are quick in obedience: but they obey with a manly air. The officers acknowledge them as their free fellow-citizens; and mingle with them in a friendly manner. They are a handſome, ſtrong,

ſtrong, well-built race; in whoſe eyes cheerfulneſs and valour ſparkle.

LETTER XXIII.

Geneva, 2d October 1791.

WE left Lauſanne the day before yeſterday; where we ſhould have made a longer ſtay, had not the length of our journey and the ſeaſon of the year obliged us to depart. The ſituation of the town is uncommonly beautiful. We enjoyed it, as we left the place and proceeded down the lovely heights, on which it is built, to the ſhores of the lake. Theſe heights too are abundant in diverſified beauties. The various ranges of mountains, one behind another, on the oppoſite coaſts of Savoy, are changeable every inſtant; while the foremoſt rocks, more changeable ſtill, eſcaped with their towering cliffs at every ſtep from the eye, ſo as to form a different proſpect. Mont Blanc, whoſe top

may

may from various places in Lauſanne be ſeen towering over the cliffs, continued to riſe upon us, in ſplendid beauty and fearful ſublimity. The aſtoniſhed eye repoſes here, on the magnificent wonders of nature; then turns to the laughing regions of the coaſt, to their vineyards, their foreſts, their populous hills, and onward to the beauties of the lake. Bathed by its waters, the charming little town of Morges is ſeen; the leſs agreeable but friendly town of Rolle, and the more important Nion; which, nothing derogatory to its old Roman origin, appears entirely to conſiſt of the houſes of the wealthy, who aſſemble here to reſide; and, under the protection of liberty, cheerfully, and undiſturbed, enjoy the youthful beauties of nature.

About noon we arrived at the hoſpitable houſe of Mr. Reverdil; where we remained till the following morning. He is a worthy man. I have not ſeen him ſince I was quite a boy; nearly thirty years ago. I met him again with pleaſure; and with the greater becauſe he is now in the happy poſſeſſion of a charming wife.

The next day, we continued our journey, and paſſed by two places that ſeemed to be

conſecrated the abode of happineſs: theſe were the reſidence of two ſages of the preſent age, Necker, and Bonnet. I hope ſoon to ſay a word to you concerning theſe men. Mont Blanc became more and more viſible. Itſelf a world of glaciers, it reared its mighty ſummits over the long range of Savoy glaciers; while its magnitude and brightneſs, inſtead of being concealed by intervening promontories, were rather increaſed.

We ſaw ripe buck wheat, between Nion and Geneva; which immediately after the wheat harveſt is ſown in the ſame fields.

Geneva conceals itſelf behind a kind of cape; as if ſuddenly to ruſh upon the view. The traveller proceeds among the numerous country houſes of its rich and free burghers, before he is aware of being in their territories; till, at once, the city in all its majeſty appears, built immediately where the Rhone flows out of the lake. I congratulated myſelf, that I was again about to ſee a town, and a diſtrict, which I honour and love. It appears to me, that as age advances we are very deſirous to reviſit the places in which we ſpent our early youth; and feel more intereſted, at the ſight of them, than at the novelty which other parts inſpire.

inſpire. When, as we grow old, we ſigh for ſomething new, imagination ſpreads thoſe mighty ſails which the breath of earth is inſufficient to fill: but are they not often ſwelled by the breath of the departed?

LETTER XXIV.

Geneva, 7th October 1791.

THE free city of Geneva, with its ſmall territory, lies between the confines of Switzerland, Savoy, and France; and is built on the beautiful lake which takes its name. From this lake the Rhone again purſues its courſe; after having traverſed it entirely, and purified its waters of the mud which it brought from the mountains of Valais.

The Rhone flows through the city; where it forms an iſland, which is covered with houſes. Geneva was converted to chriſtianity in the third or fourth century. It was afterward, more than once, ſhaken and overrun by the northern invaders. Some of the Kings

of Burgundy choſe it for their reſidence. It next fell under the juriſdiction of the Kings of France. While theſe lords governed, it was at one time ſubject to the oppreſſions of war, at others to the misfortunes of anarchy.

Charlemagne, one of the moſt extraordinary of mankind, who metamorphoſed whole kingdoms, aſſembled his army here before he marched againſt the Lombards, and granted the town conſiderable privileges. It afterward became a part of the kingdom of Arles; and after that of Burgundy.

The race of Burgundy having become extinct, Geneva, like the other ſtates that compoſed this kingdom, in the year 1032, was incorporated, by Conrad the Second, with the German empire. It was about this time that cities began to ſhake off the yoke of the great vaſſals of the empire. The Kings and Emperors of Germany often afforded them this opportunity; and endowed them with privileges, that they might be able to contend with thoſe temporal and ſpiritual lords, whoſe power was become ſo great as to be dangerous to the ſovereign.

The Biſhops of Geneva had gradually become more potent, and accumulated their claims;

claims; which the no leſs ambitious Counts of Geneva, who had originally derived from the Emperor, though they were likewiſe the vaſſals of the biſhops, diſputed with them. The people, lovers of freedom, while theſe conteſts were rather encouraged than repreſſed by the imperial and papal powers, knew how to profit by them; and at one time to obtain rights and privileges from one party, and at another from its opponent. Still they were more inclined to favour the biſhops than their hereditary counts.

Mean while a new power aroſe, by which the counts became embroiled; and which induced them to quit the poſſeſſion of a flouriſhing and commercial city.

The people of Geneva then acknowledged the biſhops, as their ſovereigns; who, accordingly, exerciſed the ſeignorial rights. The people notwithſtanding poſſeſſed conſiderable privileges. They annually choſe a ſyndic, and a treaſurer; and theſe appointed a council. The people were conſulted in the impoſing of taxes, and in the forming of alliances. Neither the biſhop nor the magiſtrate could undertake any thing of importance, unleſs they were aſſembled; and each, at coming into

office, made a ſolemn oath before the ſyndic, by which he promiſed to leave the privileges of the city undiminiſhed. Hence Geneva was poſſeſſed of conſiderable freedom, under the biſhops which it thus circumſcribed.

The German Emperors, often diſturbed by internal troubles, and generally engaged in foreign wars, were the nominal ſovereigns; but nothing more.

The Counts of Maurienne, vaſſals of the antient Kings of Burgundy, held a part of their lands, as fiefs, from the Emperor Henry the Fifth; under the title of Counts of Savoy.

Amadeus, profiting by the jealouſy which the burghers of Geneva entertained againſt the biſhop, ſeized on the ſecular rights; which, till then, the biſhop had adminiſtered. The ſtory of all ages demonſtrates how abſurd it is for ſmall independent ſtates, or for different parties of the ſame ſtate, to call in the aid of a powerful arbitrator; but, in theſe dark ages, men were little acquainted with the hiſtory of former times. Beſide, what power has hiſtorical example over the violence of party ſpirit?

Amadeus the Sixth was appointed Vicar of the Empire, in Italy and the neighbouring ſtates.

ſtates. He was indeed excluded from any juriſdiction over the city; but this dignity often gave the counts the pretext, with the connivance of the biſhop and the burghers, of interfering.

Amadeus the Eighth was lord of the county of Geneva; of which, in the year 1417, he was created Duke by the Emperor Sigiſmund. Three years afterward, he obtained a favourable bull from Pope Martin the Fifth; which emboldened him to require the biſhop to cede the exerciſe of the ſecular rights. The biſhop aſſembled the people. They adviſed him not to reſign his rights to ſtrangers, and the propoſition was rejected.

About the middle of the fifteenth century, the number of the council, which under the preſidency of the ſyndics held the adminiſtration of public affairs, was fixed at five-and-twenty; and a ſuperior council, of fifty, was inſtituted: which, in certain caſes, was to be aſſociated with the former. This was the origin of the great council of two hundred.

The Dukes of Savoy had long harboured intentions againſt Geneva. Many of the principal burghers, ſome of whom reſided in Savoy, favoured their projects; and princes of

their race, nay ſometimes their baſtards, were appointed to the biſhopric. Charles the Third, who lived about the beginning of the ſixteenth century, and who favoured the biſhops, often viſited the city with a magnificent train, gained ſome over, terrified others, exerciſed power, and threw thoſe who oppoſed him into priſon. His arrogance diſguſted the good citizens; and Berthelier in particular, who had become a burgher of Freiburg, becauſe he no longer conſidered the citizenſhip of Geneva as a protection for a free man.

By this perſon, an alliance was effected, between Freiburg and Geneva. And now two parties aroſe in the city; thoſe who were of the faction of the Duke, who, in imitation of the tumultuous militia of the Egyptian Sultans, were called Mammelucks, and thoſe more virtuous burghers, who were deſirous to maintain their freedom, who were called *Hugonots:* probably, inſtead of *Eidſgenoſſen*; which the French could not pronounce. It is well known that this appellation was afterward beſtowed on the proteſtants of France.

Duke Charles exerciſed his oppreſſive power, and obliged Geneva to renounce its alliance with Freiburg. He obtained a reſolution, from

from the other cantons, that the alliance with Freiburg ſhould be annulled; but was obliged to promiſe that the liberty of the republic of Geneva ſhould not be moleſted. This promiſe however he broke; and Berthelier fell a ſacrifice to his revenge.

Two ſucceſſive biſhops now exerciſed their tyranny over the city: yet the dread of the Swiſs frequently ſet limits to their oppreſſions. Several of the citizens fled for refuge to theſe free people; and Berne and Freiburg renewed their alliance with Geneva. This ſecond alliance was concluded in the year 1526; and, from this period, Geneva may be truly eſteemed to have become a free ſtate.

The victorious party of the Hugonots, now, in turn, became the oppreſſors; and the conquered Mammelucks were driven from their country.

The baniſhed citizens ſoon allied themſelves with the nobles of Savoy, and diſturbed Geneva; and thus the ſeeds of new contention, between the city and the Dukes of Savoy, took root. About this time, the Biſhop quarrelled with the Duke; and ſought for ſecurity in the municipal rights of a free city:

a city which his lordly predeceſſors had ſo often treated with caprice.

Another eruption was made by the Mammelucks, aided by Savoy; and the oppoſition of Geneva occaſioned a new war with the Duke: which was brought to a concluſion by the interference of the Swiſs. During this war, the Biſhop wavered from ſide to ſide, and thus increaſed the courage of the Hugonots.

Mean time, the doctrines of the reformers were very prevalent; and Berne excited the people of Geneva to ſhake off the yoke of the Pope, and the Biſhop. Freiburg indeed continued to profeſs the faith of its forefathers. In the year 1535, the council of two hundred, which had been ſome years inſtituted, admitted and countenanced the new doctrine; on which Freiburg renounced its alliance.

The following year, Calvin came to Geneva. This man, whoſe thoughts were as ardent as they were profound, communicated order both to church and ſtate. By his advice, in the year 1559, the academy was founded: a ſeminary which has produced great men, in every ſcience.

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In the year 1584, the republic concluded an alliance with Berne and Zürich; which ſtill continues, and which more than once has been the ſupport of liberty and order. This is the only alliance that Geneva has with Switzerland. Geneva it is true, in the year 1570, had made an effort to be united with the whole thirteen cantons: but the partiſans of this meaſure were foiled, by the interference of Spain, Savoy, and the catholics of Switzerland.

New plans had been formed againſt Geneva, by Duke Emanuel Philibert; and, in 1588, his ſon, Charles Emanuel, took advantage of the troubles of France, and ſeized on Saluzzo. The French ambaſſador warned Berne, and Geneva, againſt the common foe. Geneva, during a war of nine years, maintained a well diſciplined little army of foreigners in its pay: but it did not obtain, at the peace which was concluded in the year 1600, that extent of territory which it had hoped: neither would Charles conſent to the ſtipulation, ſupported by Henry the fourth of France, that Geneva ſhould be conſidered as allied to the confederate cantons. With reſpect to ſecurity, however, its gains were conſiderable;

for France exchanged the little country of Gex for Saluzzo; and it was likewiſe relieved from the neighbourhood of Savoy on its northern boundary: thus, from this period, the ſafety of Geneva was ſecured by the jealouſy of its two neighbours.

In the night of the ſhorteſt day of the year 1602, Charles made a ſecret attack upon the city. The Savoyards had ſucceſsfully mounted a baſtion; but the watchful burghers beat back the foe, and peace was again concluded in the ſummer of the following year; in which the Duke was obliged to ſtipulate that he would aſſemble no forces within four leagues of the city.

After this, Geneva remained free from external enemies: but it has frequently been the ſeat of internal tumults; and ſeveral times, in the courſe of the ſeventeenth century, the government and people have been mutually accuſed: the one of ſeverity, the other of riotous commotion.

In the year 1707, the malcontents demanded an ordinance, which ſhould limit the power of the principal families; who, it appeared, held the chief offices in a kind of hereditary deſcent. They required that all laws

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and decrees ſhould be collected and publiſhed; and that balloting ſhould take place, to ſecure the freedom of election. They obtained the two firſt points, and were thereby enabled to revive an old cuſtom; which was, that the whole municipality ſhould aſſemble every five years, and examine the proceedings of the council of the republic. Theſe aſſemblies were often tumultuous; and the council ſeized the opportunity, which the vicinity of the Swiſs ſoldiers afforded, to demand three hundred men from Berne, and one from Zürich: which point they carried.

As ſoon as theſe foreign troops were introduced, the chiefs of the malcontents were ſeized, tried, and ſome of them put to death. The people were ſubdued; and, in the year 1712, loſt the right of aſſembling the municipality, and examining the conſtitutional acts of the council.

In the year 1730, a work appeared, in which the expences that had been incurred by fortifying the city were examined; and which occaſioned great diſturbances. About this time, the abuſe of the liberty of the preſs excited great diſcontent. However, by calling a general council, in the year 1734, which

conſiſted

conſiſted of all the burghers who had attained the age of five-and-twenty, to which the queſtion of taxation was referred, the government appeaſed the people. By this council, the taxes were granted for ten years.

Two years afterward, the democratical party roſe; and the partiſans of the government obtained permiſſion to oppoſe them with arms, taken from the arſenal. Some perſons periſhed in this fray; and the firſt ſyndic was impriſoned. The next day, the democrats ſeized on the gates; and ſeveral of the council and the firſt families fled from Geneva: but they returned, in the ſequel.

Deputies were ſent, by Berne and Zürich: but they found little confidence, among a people who conſidered them as the partiſans of the ariſtocracy. Their preſence however had ſome weight; for it induced the people to yield, in a few points, to the oppoſite faction, that they might prevent the influx of theſe foreigners. Meanwhile, the Envoys of France, in common with the two cantons allied to Geneva, preſented a plan which was intended to accommodate the mutual pretenſions of the council and the people.

The reinſtating of ſome magiſtrates, who,

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in the year 1734, had been depoſed, occaſioned great contention. The preſented plan however was received, in the general council, which was held in 1738; and the laſt article that this plan contained was that itſelf ſhould have in future the power of a law. By this new regulation, the taking up of arms, without the conſent of the government, was forbidden, under pain of death.

In 1754, Geneva was acknowledged by the King of Sardinia as a free independent republic; and the boundaries of Geneva and Savoy were accurately determined.

The ſtate now paid off the remainder of its debts; and it appeared to have attained, that chief of bleſſings, peace at home and with all the world. The fire however, though ſmothered, was not extinguiſhed. A partial enjoyment of the bleſſings that reſult from freedom occaſioned, as uſual, diſſatisfaction, in a city in which there was an equality of rights, but a great inequality of wealth.

In the year 1762, the democrats excited new commotions; which were excited by the deciſion of the council, on two of the works of Rouſſeau: his Emilius, and his Social Contract. They were both forbidden, from

religious and political motives. The council knew that Rouſſeau had fled from Paris to Geneva becauſe of theſe writings: they therefore ſummoned him before them; and, had he appeared, would have paſſed a ſentence that would have endangered his liberty.

Rouſſeau fled to the mountains of Neufchatel, and held a correſpondence with his friends in Geneva; who preſented a remonſtrance, that complained leſs of the ſentence itſelf than of the forms that had been obſerved.

They demanded that the affair ſhould be examined by the council general: that is, by the aſſembled citizens. The council, on the contrary, maintained that their demand was unconſtitutional; becauſe it had acted in conformity to an expreſs and unambiguous law.

It is indeed ſtipulated, in the conſtitution, that no affairs ſhall be ſubjected to the conſideration of a council general, unleſs they ſhall firſt have been examined, and permiſſion granted, by the two council colleges. Theſe colleges likewiſe poſſeſs the right of putting a negative upon all innovations. Thoſe who defended this right were named The *Negatives*:

tives *: and thoſe who maintained that the ſubject ought to come before a council general were called The *Remonſtrants* †. The pretenſions of The *Negatives* were maintained by Mr. Tronchin, who is ſtill living, in a work entitled *Lettres écrites de la campagne* ‡. This was anſwered by Rouſſeau in his *Lettres écrites de la montagne* §; by which the party of the *Remonſtrants* was ſtill more enflamed.

This ſpirit animated the citizens, in the year 1765; when they rejected all the counſellors, who were named as candidates for the election of new ſyndics. Accordingly, the election did not take place; and the former remained in office. In this the council general might be ſaid to have exerciſed a right, which the conſtitution gave them. It appears irregular that the former ſyndics ſhould remain in office another year: but it cannot be denied that the citizens themſelves neceſſarily produced this irregularity, when they refuſed to elect, as the law ordained, any of the perſons of the little council, who were propoſed as chief magiſtrates. Though, it is true, the law, while it

* Les négatifs. † Les repréſentans.

‡ Letters written from the country.

§ Letters written from the mountains.

ordered

ordered them to elect, gave them the power of a negative over each individual.

The Magiſtrates now ſaw themſelves obliged to demand aid of their three allies; France, Berne, and Zürich; in defence of a conſtitution which they had combined to form. Theſe powers ſent their plenipotentiaries; and four-and-twenty commiſſioners were choſen from among the citizens. While the conteſted rights were under examination, the council obtained, from the three interfering powers, a declaration in favour of their proceedings. This provoked the citizens, who, in a general council, rejected the deciſion of the mediators; and, accordingly, their plenipotentiaries were called home.

The haughty court of France ſent troops on the confines of Geneva, and prohibited all trade between that kingdom and the party of the *Remonſtrants*. Neither were the citizens permitted to travel through the cantons, till they ſhould firſt have obtained a paſs. Ambaſſadors from the interfering ſtates again were ſent to Soleure; and they there publiſhed a proclamation, for the reſtoration of order, under the title of a *Prononcé*. To this the citizens paid little attention. They held

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the menaces of the foreign plenipotentiaries in contempt, defied their magiſtrates, and obliged the government ſo to compromiſe theſe diſputes as to give the power into the hands of the popular party. This compromiſe was effected on the 11th of March 1768.

Several members of the great council withdrew from their office; and many burghers abſented themſelves from the council general, conſidering thoſe changes which had been effected in this tumultuous manner as diſgraceful, and deſpairing at preſent of the public weal, while the adminiſtration of its affairs was committed to the loweſt orders of the people.

New claims, made by inhabitants who had never been burghers, gave riſe to new diſturbances.

Manufactures and commerce had drawn many foreigners to Geneva. Theſe people were called *Inhabitants:* and their children were allowed to be called *Natives.* They and their deſcendants enjoyed the protection, but did not participate all the privileges, of citizenſhip. While the burghers were divided, both parties had flattered the *Natives*, to prevent their oppoſition: but the latter, perceiving that their intereſts were now neglected, began

began to complain; and, although they obtained many immunities, and it was agreed that five-and-twenty ſhould that year be admitted as burghers, and five every ſucceeding year, yet they were ſtill diſſatisfied, required more, and ſome of them proceeded to open oppoſition.

The ſudden rumour of an inſurrection, which had not been in the leaſt ſuſpected, again, on the 15th of February 1770, occaſioned the citizens to take arms. Some of the *Natives* were killed: eight were baniſhed, and many voluntarily left the city. Yet the ſame edict of the council general, by which, without ſufficient reaſon, eight of the *Natives* were baniſhed, granted new rights to thoſe who remained.

Some years afterward, the publication of a new code of laws once more produced diſſatisfaction; which broke out into open war, between the parties of the *Remonſtrants* and the *Negatives*. The latter wiſhed the code to be ſubjected to the council of two hundred, that it might be rejected. Their opponents inſiſted that it ſhould be received. The *Remonſtrants* twice flew to arms; and, on the laſt occaſion, in the ſpring of 1782, ſeveral of the members

members of both councils, who were ſuſpected by them, were impriſoned; and, aided by the *Natives*, they ſeized on the gates and the ramparts.

While in this ſtate of commotion, France, Sardinia, and Berne, ſent their troops into the city; and a new conciliatory plan was deviſed, which was accepted by the little council, the great council, and the council general, on the 4th of November 1782, and which promiſed permanency, by the guarantee of the interfering powers. All thoſe, however, who, in the laſt inſurrection, had taken arms, were excluded the council general; which, on this occaſion, only conſiſted of two hundred and fifty men. The people were divided, concerning the election of members; and it was determined that a regiment ſhould be maintained in the barracks, to hold the malcontents in awe.

It might have been foreſeen that the government that committed this infringement of the rights of the people, which was effected likewiſe in a partial aſſembly, muſt ſoon decline in its authority. This certainly would have been quite a ſufficient pretext; and yet, ſeven

years afterward, in 1789, the people employed one which was entirely groundleſs.

Corn had riſen to a high price, at which it had been bought in by government: but it was ſold to the burghers much cheaper than at the original coſt, or than it could be purchaſed either in France or the Pays de Vaud. They retailed it out to the loſs of forty-thouſand dollars: but their own plan defeated itſelf, by lowering the price of bread; for the neighbouring people came, in multitudes, to purchaſe bread at Geneva; till the bread likewiſe roſe. The corn college, or committee, remonſtrated to the government; and it thereupon found itſelf induced to ſell grain at the ſame price for which it had been purchaſed. The great quantity of bread that had been ſold had made this regulation neceſſary.

But the burghers, having been taught ſuſpicion, ſhut their eyes to the truth; and a commotion enſued. The government called in the regiment from its barracks: but the burghers found the means of avoiding the ſoldiers, and of ſtill continuing their tumults; and the regiment, after it had been ſix-and-twenty hours under arms in the middle of winter,

abandoned

abandoned its posts. The burghers having now become masters, a new convention was made; by which the people regained the right of election, and obtained the establishment of a city militia.

The true constitution was thus once more restored; and the burghers would have remained tranquil, had not their imaginations been disturbed by the French revolution. Some were weak enough ardently to desire that Geneva might become incorporated with France; and thus resign certain freedom, in return for uncertain hope, attended with all the dangers of a sanguinary revolution, and a still more pernicious corruption of manners. Others were anxious to maintain the independance of the republic; but were very ardent to gain all the equality of rights, which had been promised to the citizens of France. By these, the *Natives*, the *Inhabitants*, and the peasantry of Geneva, were excited to arms; and they were joined by the inhabitants of the country of Gex, which belongs to France. The insurgents had almost gained possession of the city: but, by good conduct and fortitude, they were prevented. An accommodation once more took place: the constitution

of 1789 was confirmed, and the government granted many *Natives*, *Inhabitants*, and ſome of the peaſantry, the rights of burghers.

This ſmall republic, from its ſituation and conſtitution, may be very happy. Its conſtitution is that which, among the antients, was called ariſtocratic; but which modern times have named democracy. This change of names has produced many falſe ideas. By democracy, the antients denoted that kind of conſtitution in which both the legiſlative and executive power were in the people; and which was ranked by them as equal to a tyranny, or deſpotiſm. In fact, the reſtleſs demagogues, by whom the people are led, are the moſt dangerous of tyrants: and deſpotiſm itſelf is not ſo dreadful, in the hands of one, as in the hands of the many; when both political and phyſical power are in their poſſeſſion.

What we underſtand by ariſtocracy was called oligarchy, by the antients; *the government of the few*. Their ariſtocracy, *the government of the beſt*, was that kind of conſtitution in which all the citizens have equal rights; the power of making laws being in the people, and the power of executing them entruſted to men of their own chooſing.

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In Geneva, the council general, which is likewiſe called the ſovereign council, conſiſts of the members of the little and great councils, and of all the citizens and burghers, who have attained the age of five-and-twenty. Citizens are thoſe perſons whoſe fathers were burghers, and who have been born in Geneva. The burghers have equal rights, but they are ſeldom elected to public dignities.

This council general makes laws, decrees taxes, and determines on affairs of war, of peace, and alliance; confirms the alienation or the conſolidating of the ſtate domains, regulates works of fortification, appoints or changes courts of juſtice, creates new dignities, and adjuſts the admiſſion of foreign ſoldiers; except in caſes when the powers that guaranty the conſtitution think proper to ſend their forces. By election, the council general appoints all the officers of the republic.

The chief executive power is entruſted to the little council, of five-and-twenty. They firſt deliberate on all affairs; political, œconomical, civil, and criminal. Their ſentence is without appeal, in all caſes where the ſum in diſpute does not exceed two thouſand florins of Geneva; or one thouſand livres of France.

As ſoon as one of the five-and-twenty is dead, his place is ſupplied, by election, from the council of two-hundred.

This great council, called The Two-hundred, conſiſts of two hundred and fifty members. As ſoon as ſixteen places are vacant, they proceed to election. The candidates give in their names; and candidates are likewiſe named by the little council and by ten members of the great council, who acquire this right by lot; after which the names are all preſented to the council general, by which the new members are elected *.

All the citizens, as well as the burghers, have the right of being elected to this office; and, by that means, to higher dignities: all

* The following account, taken from the *Dictionnaire Hiſtorique, Politique, et Géographique, de la Suiſſe*, printed at Geneva, is more circumſtantial—The candidates who aſpire to theſe places, either deliver in their names, or cauſe them to be delivered in, to the chancery. The two councils likewiſe propoſe candidates. After the eligibility of thoſe who have been nominated has been examined, the little council names ſixteen; who are preſented to the council of two-hundred; and eight of them are elected. The council of two-hundred alſo preſents ſixteen to the little council; out of which it elects the remaining eight. T.

appointments being made from the council of two-hundred: but, as the members of the council of two-hundred have no ſalaries, the poor and the labouring citizens ſeldom pretend to the office. The lower orders of the people therefore are not prevented from taking part in the public adminiſtration of affairs, by any odious excluſive privileges, but by their own choice.

If a burgher be unmarried, he muſt be thirty years of age before he is eligible: lawyers excepted; who, like married men, may be elected at the age of ſeven-and-twenty. The council of two-hundred has the ſuperintendance of all public offices, and departments; as likewiſe of all public undertakings, the expence of which exceeds twenty-one thouſand florins of Geneva. It regulates the ſalaries of perſons in office, when they exceed twelve hundred florins; creates new employments, and appoints the ſalaries that belong to them; grants leaſes, inſpects the public revenues, new buildings, coinage, trade, arts, weights and meaſures, the academy, ſchools and public worſhip.

The council of ſixty aſſembles but ſeldom. It conſiſts of a deputation of the council of

two-hundred; that is, of a part of the little council, of the magiſtrates elected by the council general, and of one-and-twenty members of the great council. It ſuperintends all affairs with foreign powers; and can likewiſe adviſe the little council, on any important affairs which relate to internal government.

The council of war conſiſts of a ſyndic, the ſtaff officers of the regiments, a quarter-maſter, ſix members of the council of two-hundred, and a ſecretary; who is likewiſe choſen from this latter council. To the council of war all military affairs are committed: and it is annually obliged to make oath that it will be faithful to the republic, and obedient to the great council.

The chief officers are the four ſyndics, the lieutenant of juſtice, the treaſurer, the *procureur-général*, the ſecretaries of juſtice, and the governors who preſide over the ſubordinate territorial courts. The ſyndics and the lieutenant of juſtice are members of the little council; the treaſurer, the *procureur-général*, the ſecretaries of juſtice, and the governors, are members of the great. In the great council, the little is included: as in the cantons of Zürich, Berne, and Lucerne.

The civil code is laconic, unambiguous, and ſimple; and, where this code is inſufficient, the Roman code is conſulted. This little ſtate, which probably contains more knowledge and wealth than comparatively any other in Europe, is leſs troubled with lawſuits than any other. At preſent, they only enumerate five advocates, who really practiſe; and ſeven attorneys. Whoever would have a perfect idea of the juſtice adminiſtered in this city muſt read the excellent work entitled *Etat civil de Génêve, par François André Naville, citoyen de Génêve.*

Manners here are likewiſe comparatively pure. The young men are well informed: the education of the women is no leſs carefully attended to; and they are as celebrated for their real merit as for their charming manners. At Geneva, it is almoſt become proverbial to ſay, "Happy the children who have a woman to inſtruct them!"

There is an excellent law of the republic, which deſerves notice. If a ſon do not pay his father's debts, which the law cannot oblige him to do, he is excluded from the enjoyment of every public office.

The

The ſame prohibition extends to all who have not paid their own debts, when demanded. The corn chamber is a uſeful inſtitution. Its duty is to take care that a certain preſcribed quantity of corn ſhall always be in the granary. The ſtate has the excluſive right of ſelling corn to the bakers. It ſometimes gains: but it is much oftener a conſiderable loſer.

This regulation is neceſſary, in a city whoſe ſmall territory is inſufficient for its own conſumption. Supplies of grain from Savoy are prohibited, by a ſtanding order of the King of Sardinia. It is true that, in plentiful years, this prohibition is infringed: but, in times of dearth, it is but the more ſtrictly enforced, and adhered to, by Savoy. At theſe times, likewiſe, ſimilar prohibitions are announced by their other neighbours: France, and the Pays de Vaud.

Thoſe who imagine that this privilege ever degenerates into a monopoly, in Geneva, are very little acquainted with the people, and the government. The number of the people, according to the accounts delivered in laſt year, was twenty-ſix thouſand one hundred

and

and forty, within the walls; and nine thouſand without: amounting in all to thirty-five thouſand ſouls.

The whole territory of the republic conſiſts of three ſquare leagues and ſeven hundred ells: allowing twenty leagues to a degree *.

To thoſe who eſtimate the importance of a ſtate by the extent of territory, Geneva will be deemed inſignificant: but not to the philoſopher. The proportion of men and ſtates, to him, is frequently in an inverſe ratio: the more nearly a ſtate approaches to the condition of a family, the more powerfully is its character unfolded; and the more pure is the play of the ſprings by which it is moved. Rome loſt itſelf in its own magnitude. Athens and Sparta gave laws to THE GREAT KING; before they extended their own territories.

* There is ſome error of the preſs here, as I ſuppoſe: I therefore cite the original. *Der umfang der ganzen republik beträgt drei lieues und ſieben hundertel im quadrat; die lieue zu zwanzig auf einen grad gerechnet.* Perhaps the word *drei* ſhould be *dreizehen*. T.

LETTER XXV.

Geneva, 10th October 1791.

I CANNOT forbear to tell you of a large alley of wild chefnuts, planted on the terrace of the garden of St. John, about a quarter of a league from the city. The Rhone here ruſhes beneath our feet; and, oppoſite the Rhone on the left, the Arve. They join their ſtreams on the right, ſoon after the Arve has received the tributary waters of a beautiful rivulet. The waves of the Arve, which riſes out of the glaciers of Savoy, are troubled and of a grey colour; like other mountain rivers, before they are purified by paſſing through a lake. The Rhone, on the contrary, having traverſed the lake of Geneva, is as clear as the waters of the Rhine at Schaffhauſen. The courſe of the two rivers is delightful.

Limited by theſe ſtreams, the garden is a triangle, the baſe of which is the city. A pleaſant foreſt caſts its ſhades from an oppoſite hill. The mountains of Savoy and the

rocky

rocky Saleve are ſeen at a diſtance. A foot path leads up to a ſteep height, beſide the Rhone; which, where it is leaſt ſteep, is planted with vineyards; and, where the vine will not take root, the ivy climbs, luxuriant and daring; the moſt ornamental of the vegetable tribe.

I went down to examine the place at which the rivers join. The Arve ſtill partakes of its ſnow-cold origin; and the Rhone, in compariſon, is lukewarm. As far as the eye can diſtinguiſh, the difference between the rivers is perceptible. The Nymph of the mountains ardently ruſhes upon the river God, who diſcourteouſly reſiſts her embrace. He has but juſt left the lucid arms of the gentle Naiades of the lake, and recedes from the leſs pure and too impetuous Arve.

LETTER XXVI.

Geneva, 13th October 1791.

IN the company of La Rive, his wife, and friends, who, by their ſociety, have made

made the intereſting city of Geneva more delightful, we have taken a ſhort journey into the country. The paintings of La Rive will ſoon render him more celebrated, among our countrymen, than he is at preſent. His early paſſion for painting, which he was not ſuffered to indulge, did but diſcover his natural genius the more, the more it was oppoſed. In this country, nature ſpeaks with a thouſand tongues; and he, whoſe genius formed him to be a landſcape painter, has an ear to hear her voice. The firſt attempts of La Rive gave teſtimony of his abilities, and juſtified his paſſion. Nature and art combined to form him; while, in Italy, he choſe and managed his ſubjects with the fineſt diſcrimination. At one time, his ungovernable tempeſts would terrify the ſpectator; at another he leads him among the cool groves in which the Zephyrs appear to ſigh, and the rivulets are heard to murmur. His horſes and cattle are animated by the moſt deceptive expreſſion of reality; and remind me of the epigrams, by which the Grecian poets rendered the brazen cow, the maſter-piece of Myron, immortal.

With theſe friends, we yeſterday went to Seligni,

Seligni, which is three leagues from Geneva, to ſee the father of La Rive. This is a village, ſtanding in the territories of Geneva; but ſurrounded by the Pays de Vaud. It conſiſts partly of country houſes, and partly of farms; the owners of which are wealthy. The lake, vineyards, gardens, groves, and hills, planted with the vine, may be ſeen from this place. I call thoſe rows of the vine, which are planted between the corn, vineyards. The cluſtering grapes hang in bunches, from pole to pole, till they meet in luxuriant plenty.

Paſſing through the groves of Mr. Naville, we came to a pleaſant walk beſide a brook, which ſometimes winds among the rocks, and at others through the meadows. Conducted by nature, it rolls over ſtones, here forming a caſcade; there a pleaſant iſland; and at a third place it mingles its waters with another rivulet. Before the houſe, there is a row of tall ſlender plane trees. Over the lake, the bold rocks of Savoy are ſeen; and, oppoſite to them, the neighbouring Jura.

We ſpent yeſterday evening and the greateſt part of to-day at the caſtle of Prangin, which lies

lies beyond Nyon, with a lady who is the friend of La Rive. In hoſpitable Switzerland, it is a proverb that "our friend's friend is our friend:" and we found the proverb to be true. The hilarity of the vintage added new charms to this delightful place. It is a great pleaſure to me to be preſent at a harveſt home; but greater ſtill at a vintage. From this we receive not only profit but pleaſure, as an acceſſary. The old become young, and infancy itſelf is active. Little children of five and ſix years of age trot beſide their mother, who gathers the grapes, and help to bring the full baſkets back to their father, at the wine preſs. How delighted muſt he be to ſee his lovely boy bring the teeming fruit, whoſe delicious juice is intended to invigorate his declining years!

That the great Creator deſigned to provide us with food is taken for granted: but his paternal goodneſs would not ſtop here. He willed that we ſhould eat in joy. Before the ſun has warmed the earth, its morning rays announce his kindneſs; and its evening beams, in his name, lead us to ſeek repoſe. The flower of the vegetable affords me greater

delight

delight even than its taſte: the cluſtering grape more than the waving wheat. "Wine maketh glad the heart of man."

You know that, in moſt of the vine countries of Germany, paſſengers are allowed, not only to pluck and eat to their heart's content, but to fill their pockets. In the Pays de Vaud, this is not permitted. When the grapes begin to ripen, the vineyards are watched: he, however, who guards the vineyard, is obliged to give thoſe who wiſh to eat of the fruit a bunch of grapes in each hand.

LETTER XXVII.

Geneva, 14th October 1791.

WE have now twice viſited Mr. Necker, at Copet. People had complained to me of the cold reception they had met with from him, and the diſtance of his manner. I ſuffered them to talk, but I knew what to think. An apparent coldneſs of manner, in a man whoſe heart glowed with ſenſations like

his, and whoſe mind was ſo enlightened, could not deceive me for a moment. I approached him with that full confidence which none but great men can inſpire. His firſt aſpect filled me with a mild yet penetrating emotion; the viſible fluſhing of which did not eſcape his notice. I found myſelf at my eaſe, in the company of this dignified man; and was convinced that the oftener I ſaw him the more perfect would be the freedom I ſhould feel.

He ſaid little; but the little he did ſay was worthy of himſelf. A few excellent remarks, concerning his enemies, eſcaped him: but they were delivered in a mild, moderate, and noble manner; though without any ſhade of affected forbearance. A gentle glow, though ſcarcely viſible, more than once overſpread his countenance. It was a beam, from the warm and intelligent heart of a great man; a ſpark of that fire which gives immortality to his fame, his writings, and the violence of his enemies.

I have here come in company and become acquainted with Mounier. It was intereſting to me to meet a man, who, with courageous zeal, preſſed the inſtituting of a ſecond houſe in the National Aſſembly; and who deve-

loped,

loped, to the preſent times and to poſterity, the crimes of the 5th and 6th of October 1790; which, to the ſhame of France, ſtill remain unpuniſhed.

LETTER XXVIII.

Geneva, 16th October 1791.

I HAVE again viſited the library, with pleaſure, which I had ſeen on my former travels: not ſo much becauſe of the books, for who can learn any thing from ſuch numerous volumes at a ſingle viſit? but to view the pictures of the great and celebrated men, by which it is ornamented. Among them are the reformers; Wickliff, Huſs, Luther, Calvin, Zuingle; many heroes; ſuch as Henry the Fourth of France when a child, Admiral Coligny, the valiant Duke of Rohan, who is buried in the principal church, Guſtavus Adolphus and Charles the Twelfth of Sweden; the poets and philoſophers; Marot, Rabelais, La Fontaine, and Hugo Grotius; with many others, whom I do not recollect, and two of our noble contemporaries, Necker, and Bonnet,

net, who, both of them burghers of Geneva, do honour to the city.

Mr. Tronchin, the poſſeſſor of a country houſe near the city, which is called *Les Délices*, a friendly and lively old gentleman of ſeventy-eight, has a very beautiful collection of pictures.

When I was firſt at Geneva, ſixteen years ago, the ſpirit of republicaniſm would not endure any theatre in the city. In the year 1782, the conſtitution being very ariſtocratic, France had ſufficient influence to introduce a company of players. Since that time, cards have likewiſe become common. Both are continued, though the old conſtitution is reſtored: but both draw the attention of the citizens from the diſcuſſion of the principles of freedom.

Some few days ſince, La Rive (you muſt not confound this La Rive with my friend the painter; but La Rive the famous player of Paris) with an actreſs, named Mademoiſelle Fleury, came here; and he yeſterday played the character of Tancred. He was certainly born with great talents. His attitude, his appearance, and the expreſſion of his eye, are maſterly. His voice is fine, and entirely at

his command. According to the French manner and art of acting, he is indisputably a great performer: but you know how displeasing to me the French manner of acting is; and, according to my conception, how different from nature.

Unhappy people! How are they continually turned aside, from the truth, by the cold rules and institutes of their philosophers, poets, and players! Among whom, the tender feeling soul of Racine himself is often untuned, who, thinking themselves possessed by the spirit of freedom, prattle of moral and political regeneration; and whose lawgivers, leaving Fenelon and Montesquieu in neglect, erect statues to the memory of Voltaire!

LETTER XXIX.

Geneva, 17th October 1791.

WE have been to Genthod this afternoon, to visit Bonnet. I hoped I should often have seen this noble sage, whose writings I have for years so highly admired; but,

during my whole ſtay at Geneva, he has been ſo ill that, till now, he has not been able to receive viſitors.

He has lived for ſeveral years at his houſe in the country; and does not remove to town in the winter. Genthod lies on a delightful height, not far from the lake, about a league from Geneva. In theſe charming regions, he watches and frequently detects Nature in her moſt ſecret operations: for ſhe willingly diſcovers herſelf, to men whoſe hearts and minds are as pure as thoſe of Bonnet. Making experience his guide, he ſteps more ſecurely than many of the famous philoſophers of our age; dedicating his hours and underſtanding to truth; and revering religion, with purity, intelligence, and ardour.

His language and his eyes beamed with intellect. His works, which inſtruct the ſage and entertain the unlearned, frequently trace the minuteſt objects up to their great firſt cauſe; and he is equally happy in the depth of his obſervations and his ſublime views of the grandeur and immenſity of Nature.

When the immortal author of the Meſſiah raiſed the enlightened ſpirit of Rahel from the grave, before the reſurrection, while the duſt

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of the body began to be in motion, unconſcious of the approaching tranſition, alike unconſcious that the duſt was his own, the ſpirit ſtood

> Amazed to mark the eternal change! And great
> And ſmall incomprehenſible alike!

So ſtands this worthy ſage, cheerful, on the brink of the grave; well knowing how ſoon it is to receive him; and joyfully expecting the event. Meanwhile, he remains deep in obſervation,

> Amazed to mark the eternal change! And great
> And ſmall incomprehenſible alike!

Happy the man who gathers the fruits of wiſdom, and gathers for eternity!

LETTER XXX.

Turin, 24th October 1791.

WE left Geneva on the 18th, having firſt hired vetturini, or guides, who have brought us to Turin. Theſe people never make a long day's journey. On the contrary,

they travel ſlowly: but they are well acquainted with the country, and likewiſe with the charges which ought to be made at inns; at which, unleſs a man be well verſed in ſuch affairs, he is likely to be ill ſerved and much impoſed on. Beſide that the inſolence of Italian poſtboys is exceedingly great. I therefore think this the beſt way of travelling. The guide who conducted our chaiſe is a Neapolitan; and comes from Lena, in the diſtrict of Otranto. We have every reaſon to be ſatisfied with him; and I hope he will continue with us during our journey through Italy. He is very lively, appears to be honeſt, and is a good driver. His mules, decorated with bells, are not quick; but ſtrong, and ſure. His name is Guido Oroncio *.

About a quarter of a league after we left Geneva, we entered the duchy of Savoy. The country is fruitful, and ſurrounded by mountains at ſome diſtance: yet the valley ſoon becomes narrow, and appearances change. About noon, as we approached the village of Frangy, we ſaw below us a valley abounding in cheſnut and walnut trees; in which were

* I have ſince diſcovered that the bad reputation which Italian poſt-boys have acquired is unmerited.

crowds

crowds of men and cattle, it being a fair for the latter. The poor but joyous Savoyards did not belie their character: loud mirth, yet not riotous, rang through the valley, and brightened in their faces. Buyers and ſellers appeared with their wares; and ſeemed ſatisfied with their bargains, and with each other.

The horned cattle are a large fine breed, though ſtill not comparable to thoſe of Switzerland. The goats are extremely beautiful: the ſwine very large, ſleek, and all of them black.

We remained all night at Rümilly; a dirty little town, with a no leſs dirty inn. As the chambers were all but one engaged, the landlord ſent to a man; who kindly furniſhed me and my wife with a good and, what is not uſual in Savoy, a clean chamber. We found the worthy old man and his aged wife ſitting by the fire-ſide. Of nine children, which ſhe had borne him, they had only one ſon living; and he was then at Annecy, languiſhing with a lingering and dangerous diſeaſe. Aſſaulted by age, by grief, by the loſs of their dead children, and by the ſickneſs of the laſt, whom they might probably ſurvive,

they

they behaved with noble firmneſs and mild reſignation to the will of God.

On the 19th, about noon, we arrived at Chamberry, the chief town of the duchy; which contains about thirteen thouſand inhabitants. Notwithſtanding that many of the nobility winter there, the town is ill built: but its fruitful neighbourhood, and the orchards that ſhade the valleys, make it very pleaſant. There are many country houſes near the town; and many of thoſe which are in the town itſelf lie at a diſtance from the ſtreets, buried among their charming gardens, and ſeeming rather to belong to the country than the town.

We paſſed the evening at Montmelian, the wine of which is ſo famous in this country. That however which they gave us, at the inn, was not very good; but of that kind of common Italian red wine which is called *Vino Bruſco* *: in oppoſition to the *Vino Amabile* †.

The farther we proceeded up the country the more narrow the valleys became, and the grandeur of nature increaſed. In the forenoon of the 20th, we journeyed along the Iſere;

* Rough wine. † Smooth or pleaſant wine.

which

which rises in the mountains of Savoy, and, running into France, empties itself into the Rhone. It receives the waters of the Arc, not far from Aiguebelle; and we saw the course of the latter, till we came to the foot of Mount Cenis.

Our journey in the afternoon lay among rocky declivities, and steep mountains. Between these rocks, and high up the mountains, we saw the young green winter corn; as likewise vine plants, fruit trees, and wild shrubs. The industry with which the fields of Savoy are cultivated is wonderfully contrasted with the uncleanliness of their inns. That which we found in the evening, at La Chambre, was rather more uncleanly than is usual, even in this country. The staircase that leads to the chambers is usually narrow, and dirty; and the chamber itself generally contains large stoves, with three canopy beds, the dust of which does not appear for years to have been disturbed. You shrink back with disgust, when you look at the old tattered dirty-coloured coverlid; and the rest of the furniture corresponds with that of the bed. A large chimney is the most agreeable thing in the apartment. Fortunately, the cooking is not

not ſo bad as might be expected. If however you wiſh to eat with an appetite, you muſt take care not to caſt your eye toward the kitchen. Neither will you be much tempted to examine the waiting maid, who is generally as like the Spaniſh beauty, Maritornes, which Cervantes has deſcribed, as one drop of foul water is to another. However, they are very diligent; and do any thing they are bid, with a good will.

On the 21ſt, we paſſed places which reminded me of thoſe wild proſpects that are perhaps exaggerated in pictures; and that had aſtoniſhed me during my childhood. From one rocky valley we paſſed, through ſmall openings, into another. Some of theſe valleys conſiſt of nothing more than the broad flinty bed of the Arc; which, half dried up in ſummer, leaves ſmall ſtony iſlands, which the induſtrious people plant with vegetables. Continuing among theſe ſteep rocks, the road winds ſometimes on one ſide of the river and at others on the oppoſite; having been dug, with unſpeakable labour: and every now and then ſmall valleys open upon us, where the vine reclines againſt the black ſlate, and where little ſpots of land are cultivated by the ſpade;

it

it being impoſſible to approach them with the plough. The induſtrious Savoyard frequently carries earth, in baſkets, to bed the rocks; while the ſpouting waters ſtream below, over the ruſhing of which bold and high vaulted bridges are thrown. Wherever the valley becomes very narrow, it is wholly filled by the Arc.

What were the means that Hannibal employed, before roads were made, to paſs theſe valleys? The recollection of this great man gave us animation. We contemplated the pathleſs rocks, among which he, his army, and his elephants, marched. We beheld the numerous ſtones, which, thrown from the heights above, lie ſcattered in the ſtream.

Who can ſay but they might be the artillery which the wild inhabitants of the Alps diſcharged at the Carthaginians, when they firſt beheld the ſanctity of impaſſable nature thus violated? What a hero was Hannibal! He who began his aſſault upon Rome by an enterpriſe ſo incredible! whoſe great ſoul no difficulties could appal, and in whom his Carthaginians, his warlike Numidians, and Spaniards, and his ſlingers of the baleares, put ſuch implicit confidence!

The

The high mountains ſeemed to impriſon the horizon. Wherever they open, the ſhining glaciers appear in contraſt with the dark blue of that ſmall part of heaven which is viſible. Every where caſcades are ſeen, pouring their waters into the ſtream.

Among theſe wild diſtricts, we ſaw a man employed in collecting the beautiful ſaffron flower, which is ſowed among the black ſtones. It is diſtinguiſhed from the lovely meadow ſaffron, which blooms in Swabia and Switzerland, toward the end of the ſummer and during the whole of autumn, by a deeper violet colour, and by its beautiful dark piſtils, which conſtitute the ſaffron; the uſe of which is ſo excellent.

Where the rocky declivities are not too ſteep, and are not entirely rendered barren by the torrents of rain, there conſiderably tall cheſnuts and walnut trees flouriſh. Every ſpot of earth is cultivated; but ſome of the valleys have no ſpots of earth: for the wild waves of the Arc ruſh over ſtones, and form cataracts that foam and thunder down the perpendicular rock.

In the evening, we arrived at Modane; a little village, which is five leagues from the

foot of Mount Cenis. We roſe at three o'clock in the morning, that we might begin our day's journey by four: but dreadful torrents of rain, which often in theſe parts ſweep down huge ſtones, and pines, to the danger of the traveller, obliged us to wait till the ſtorm was over.

The morning was clear after this tempeſtuous night; and, about ſix o'clock, we ſet forward, and frequently ſaw the tops of the glaciers, dazzling with the roſy beams of the riſing ſun. The mountains around us were likewiſe covered with ſnow: while the autumnal yellow foliage of the birch, the pale leaves of the larch tree, and the dark evergreen of the pine, ſhaded the high rocky road. We ſaw however that the higher we went the leſs flouriſhing was the vegetation around us. The young winter crops, on the banks of the river, became the only verdure below the rocks.

From theſe narrow winding valleys, which are connected by ſmall openings with each other, Mount Cenis is firſt ſeen, at the diſtance of about half a league. The little town of Laneburg ſtands at its feet, in a wild ſituation, built with materials dug rough from the rock,

and

and roofed with ſlate: which, that the wind may not carry it away, is overlaid with ſtones. We arrived about noon; and, at this place, our carriages were taken to pieces, and mules and litters procured. About half an hour after two, we proceeded on our journey.

My wife was borne in a covered litter by ſix men; two carrying at a time, and relieving each other. The foremoſt had leather ſtraps acroſs his ſhoulders; and held a rope in his hand, which was faſtened to the pack-ſaddle of a lightly loaded mule; by which, as he went, he was helped along. We men rode on mules; as likewiſe did Erneſt, to his great joy.

The road is ſteep, and very uneven, being full of large ſtones. We had not aſcended above a quarter of an hour before we ſaw the ſnow, covering the pine, and other green trees. After a time, we ſaw nothing but ſtunted leafleſs ſhrubs; and the rain, which had accompanied us when we ſet out, was now changed into large fleaks of ſnow. It was ſomething more than an hour and a half before we arrived at the higheſt part over which the road went, and which then continues about three quarters of a league through a broad valley, lying between the high ſummits

of

of the mountain, which heights no man can poſſibly aſcend. In this lofty valley is a lake, which is juſtly celebrated for its trout. We took ſome refreſhment, at an inn on Mount Cenis; and dried our clothes by the fire, which was a great pleaſure.

We then continued our journey. However, I would not ſuffer my ſon to mount his mule again, but put him into an uncovered litter. I could perceive I very much damped his joy; but I ſoon had reaſon to congratulate myſelf, at having ſo done. The great expectations I had formed of Mount Cenis had been partly diſappointed: but they were ſoon very highly exceeded. As we continued our journey downward, we came to a high fantaſtical crag; after which the deſcent was one uninterrupted zig zag. Steep as the mountain is, on the ſide of Savoy, it is ſtill much ſteeper, and much higher, on that of Piedmont. The Semar, a rivulet, which takes its riſe in the lake on the mountain, daſhes down among the rocks, and forms an uncommonly beautiful caſcade. It then ruſhes through a high valley, and ſeparates Savoy from Piedmont. At Suſa, it falls into the Dora; which, at Turin, is mingled with the Po.

Here, the charms of Savoy took a kind of ſolemn leave of us: being ſeparated from Piedmont by rocks of a ſtrange appearance, and thundering cataracts. We continued onward for ſome leagues, over a ſteep and ſtony road, full of ſhort turnings, having high rocks on one ſide of us, and on the other deep precipices.

The mules, that travel theſe roads, are uncommonly ſluggiſh. If you are a little way behind, you may with great difficulty bring your mule into a trot; and then the followers will trot after; but to make your own mule overtake and paſs the firſt is a thing almoſt impoſſible. There are few places, however, in which the traveller has any deſire to trot. When the road is ſteep, and encumbered with almoſt impaſſable ſtones, the rider muſt throw the bridle on the neck of the mule. The animal then makes continual windings as he goes down the declivity; proceeding to the very edge of the precipice, and then turning ſhort about. The mules are ſhod with thin plates of iron; which are turned up, and are conſiderably wider than the fore-part of the hoof. With theſe they tread ſafely, and do not run the riſk of getting ſmall ſtones between the ſhoe

ſhoe and the hoof, which would make their ſtep inſecure.

We were ſtill a league from the foot of the mountain, when night approached. It was ſo dark that I was obliged to open the glaſs of my watch, to ſee what it was o'clock. The ſure-footed mules ſtill went on, but with the noſe to the ground, and continually approaching the very brink of the precipice, then turning ſhort, but occaſionally ſtopping for a moment, and looking down. At length I diſmounted; for the road by this light was extremely difficult, and ſcarcely to be diſtinguiſhed from the precipices. The noiſe of ſtreams, hurrying among the rocks, thundered in our ears; and their froth by night was fearfully beautiful. How happy was I that I had not ſuffered Erneſt to ride, over roads like theſe, and under ſuch circumſtances! He muſt have been in great danger; for I often ſtaggered, and ſtepped into holes among the high ſtones.

At laſt, we arrived at Noraleſe, a little town at the foot of the mountain; and I own my heart rejoiced to meet my wife and ſon again in ſafety. The country conſidered, we

found the inn very good; and ſuch as would be thought tolerable in Germany.

We purſued our journey, yeſterday, among fruitful valleys, and ſurrounded by rocks and mountains, which were clothed with trees. Moſt of theſe valleys are tolerably extenſive, and cultivated with great induſtry. We felt in the mildneſs of the air, and we ſaw, in the freſhneſs of the vegetation, that the Alps were on our backs ſheltering us from the north. The vine is not planted here after the German manner, but in rows at a greater diſtance; the ſprouts carried from tree to tree; or, from pole to pole, pendant over little ſide laths; and forming bowers. Between theſe wide rows, we often ſaw ſcattered ears of Turkiſh wheat, or maize; and often young winter wheat. The land is partitioned by broad furrows into high ſmall beds, like garden beds, each about an ell wide; and drains are likewiſe cut through it, of a great depth. I imagine that theſe valleys are often inundated, by the waters that pour down the mountain; and that the torrents make the furrows and the raiſed beds of this country neceſſary.

I recollect to have ſeen ſimilar furrows in Bohemia;

Bohemia; though not ſo broad as theſe of Piedmont; and the land was there caſt into a rounder form. Many mulberry trees here ſtand in rows, upon the ploughed lands: on which we likewiſe find the poplar, walnut, and cheſnut tree. In the gardens, we meet with the cypreſs, and fig tree, of a height which they do not attain on the other ſide of the Alps.

The proſpect of the Alps at our backs was truly grand. They not only ſeparate us from Savoy, but they cut off our new world from the old; where all that was honourable, all that diſtinguiſhed civilized man from the barbarian, the torch of ſcience, the pleaſures derived from the arts, nay the holy fire of religion itſelf, took birth. Italy was cloſely connected with Greece; colonies from which, being ſent into the lower parts of this country, communicated to them the name of Græcia Magna. Others of the Grecian people inhabited Aſia Minor; and their colonies ſpread over the coaſts of Aſia and of Africa. Grecian kings ſat likewiſe on the antient throne of the Pharaohs; before Egypt became a Roman province.

The dominions of Rome included all the

nations that were bounded by the Mediterranean. I hope ſoon to ſtand on the ſhores of this ſea; the waves of which have ſo often waſhed Italy, Sicily, the ruins of Carthage, and the havens of Greece, in Europe and in Aſia. Of Greece! in which favoured country every river, and every mountain, is become famous; in hiſtory, in poetry, and in mythology: here while I ſtand, the iſlands of the Archipelago will riſe to remembrance; with myſtic Egypt; and the ſacred children of Iſrael: a people, who, in their hiſtory, and by their prophets, firſt foretold the coming of the Son of truth and love: He whoſe pure ſpirit, not limited by alps and ſeas, ſpreading from the Ganges to the Frozen Ocean, animates and enlightens the ſons of men. 'Tis true his beams are ſometimes darkened, by the riſing vapours of earth: but, before the end of time ſhall come, they ſhall aſcend to their native heaven.

With thoughts like theſe, I looked back upon the white Alps, linked to each other; and among which the Rochemelon advanced its craggy front, ſuperior to the reſt.

At Suſa, the valley becomes narrow, and forms the celebrated paſs of that name; which

is ſtrengthened by the fortreſs of Brunette, commanding two valleys, and ſtanding oppoſite to the fortreſs of Briançon, on the confines of France. We halted, at noon, at the little town of St. Ambroſio; in the front of which the monaſtery of St. Michael is ſeen at a diſtance, on the top of a high mountain.

Between St. Ambroſio and Rivoli, the valleys widen; and many ruins, of antient caſtles, are ſeen among the mountains. The parts around are fertile, and pleaſant. Rivoli is a ſmall town; overlooked by a royal caſtle, built on a hill. In Turin, the gates are ſhut early; we were therefore obliged to remain all night in a large but wretched and exceſſively dirty inn.

Being informed that there was a comic opera, we went out of curioſity to the theatre, which is ſmall, and found it entirely full. The audience, with great politeneſs, inſiſted upon our being ſeated in very good places; which had certainly been previouſly taken. The performers were better dreſſed than might have been expected, in ſo ſmall a place. The native talents of comedy were very conſpicuous, in the acting of a man who performed the part of an old lover. A ſymphony

was vociferouſly called for, between the acts; and the players were loudly applauded in many of the ſcenes. At the concluſion of a duet, between the old lover and his young miſtreſs, there were two parties, who were very eager in exclaiming Bravo! and Brava! ſome applauding the man, and others the woman.

The paſſion for theatrical exhibitions appears to be born with the Italians. A little boy, about five years old, ſtood at the corner before the orcheſtra on a ſmall plank, at leaſt two ells high, with his arms round a pillar, and his attention fixed on the performers. We were unable to enter into the paſſion of the ſcene with the ardour teſtified by the ſpectators, and we left the theatre long before the concluſion of the piece.

We departed early in the morning from the uncleanly town of Rivoli, and proceeded to Turin, which is only two leagues diſtant. The road is in a ſtraight line, uncommonly ſpacious, with a ditch on each ſide, that is planted with a row of large elms.

The extenſive plains of Lombardy, the fertility of which have been famous for theſe thouſand years, begin on this ſide Rivoli. It

was

was to theſe plains that Hannibal pointed, as a recompenſe to his army, for the labours of their march, and as the ſeat of future victory, for which the hero was their guarantee. They extend over Piedmont, Milan, Mantua, and the Venetian territory, as far as the Adriatic. The lands are excellent, and mulberry trees are frequently planted among the corn. At ſome diſtance, high hills are ſeen; which are clothed with vineyards and fruit trees. Behind us and on each ſide, curving and forming a creſcent, the lordly Alps appeared, covered with ſnow; and among them the Viſo, and the ſtill more lofty Rochemelon, advanced in fearful grandeur. Right before us and ſome leagues beyond Turin, we ſaw the magnificent monaſtery called the Superga, built upon a mountain.

The beauty of the great objects around us, and the brightneſs of the morning, inſpired our hearts with joy; which was ſuddenly diſturbed by a ſight of horror. Immediately before us, on the high road, we ſaw people aſſembled at an inn, and aſked our vetturino what was the matter. *È un ammazzato!* It is a man murdered! ſaid he; but that is nothing

thing to you or me: let us go on and take no notice.

I and Nicolovius went up to the crowd, and there ſaw a handſome young man, who had received a deep wound with a knife in the chin, and another that went to the heart. During the night, he and the murderer had been heard quarrelling together. My wife's maid, who had ſeen him lie as ſhe paſſed by in the other chaiſe, thought ſhe recollected in him a young man whom ſhe had remarked at the inn the evening before; and who, being at play with another at *mora*, and having loſt, had been quarrelling.

This game has coſt many men their lives. It is played by two men, holding up more or leſs fingers of the right hand, each againſt the other, and both calling, while the hand is raiſing, the numbers which they reſpectively chooſe. This is entirely gueſs: yet the Italians maintain that a good player, the moment he ſees the hand of his opponent, before it is half opened, can tell how many fingers he will extend. The Italians are ſo paſſionately addicted to this game that no laws can induce them to renounce it; and the quickneſs

quickneſs with which they play is incredible.

The murderer of the man we ſaw eſcaped; and, during the laſt night, not far from the ſame place, another man was robbed and murdered. The Piedmonteſe are juſtly accuſed of a propenſity to drunkenneſs, and of being ſcandalouſly rapacious, which induces them to commit murder in cold blood. But how is it poſſible that, in ſo active a government as that of Sardinia, no deciſive regulations ſhould have taken place, ſufficient to redreſs this evil? How conſpicuous does this make the character of nations! Among the inhabitants of Savoy, under the very ſame government, the traveller is in perfect ſecurity: while, on the plains of Piedmont, and in the very neighbourhood of the metropolis, a man may be murdered at an inn, or on the high road.

We arrived at Turin before ten in the morning. Peace be with you.

LET-

LETTER XXXI.

Turin, 27th October 1791.

TURIN is one of the moſt beautiful and moſt antient cities in Europe. Fable derives its origin from a pretended Phetontes, brother of the Egyptian god Oſiris, who is ſaid to have lived fifteen hundred years before the birth of Chriſt and to have founded this place. Its large river we are told derives its name from his ſon Eridanus. The later Romans called it Padus, and it is now called the Po. According to theſe fables, the city's name, Turin, was given it in honour of the Egyptian god Apis; whom the people worſhipped under the ſymbol of a bull: as if the antient Egyptians could have ſpoken Greek! It would have ſeemed more probable had a Grecian origin been aſcribed to the town, and its antient name Taurafia derived from the junction of the Dora with the Po; or from the waters of the latter. It was cuſtomary, for the antients, to compare a ſtream with two arms, or with high waves, to the horns of a bull.

The accounts given by hiſtory are more worthy of attention; and from theſe we learn that Tauraſia, which was then its name, was the chief city of the Ligurians, and the firſt which Hannibal took, after his paſſage over the Alps. The fame of this wonderful man gives a greater ſplendour even to the people he conquered than any that fable could impart.

Some centuries afterward, under the reign of the Cæſars, the Romans ſent a colony to this place; and gave it the name of Auguſta Taurinorum.

The ſituation of Turin is uncommonly beautiful; and, as moſt travellers have remarked, very much reſembles that of Dreſden.

The charming Po winds along one part of the city, which is ſurrounded with hills, and mountains, that afford numerous proſpects; embelliſhed with vineyards, groves, country ſeats, and gardens. Beyond the neighbouring heights and hills, the long range of Alps, covered with ſnow and fearful in grandeur, riſe; and ſuperior, among theſe giants of the earth, the Viſo and the Rochemelon, with their beaming ſummits, tower. Theſe charming proſpects are beſt enjoyed on the walls of the city;

city; and it is a pity that this ſpacious walk is interrupted, by the incloſed gardens of the royal palace.

We are aſtoniſhed to ſee the Viſo ſo near us; when we remember that the Po takes its riſe in this mountain, and is already become ſo powerful a ſtream. The expectations I form of ſeeing this river empty itſelf into the Adriatic, when it ſhall have attained its full maturity, are great; its youthful ſtream being ſo promiſing.

Immediately facing the gate, which takes its name from the Po, there is a bridge over the river, that neither correſponds with the beauty of the city nor the dignity of the ſtream. The Po ſtreet, which leads to this gate, is handſomely built. The plan of Turin is a noble one. The ſtreets are in right lines, and the gates and the houſes are built in a good ſtyle and taſte: though the ſtreets, in proportion to the height of the houſes, the Po ſtreet and the new ſtreet excepted, are not ſufficiently ſpacious. In the Po ſtreet, there are handſome and lofty arcades, on both ſides of the way. The outſide of the caſtle is not very promiſing: but the apartments are very magnificent. In a niche, at the entrance, there is an

equeſtrian

equeſtrian ſtatue of Victor Amadeus the Firſt: the horſe of marble, the duke of bronze. Amadeus is a noble figure: but I cannot ſay as much of his horſe.

I expected to have found more of the Italian maſters in the picture gallery, and not ſo many of the Flemiſh. I ſhall only mention a few of thoſe which principally drew my attention.

The Magdalen of Rubens, whoſe bold and expreſſive pencil, animated by truth, cannot eaſily be miſtaken, is excellent. The air of the head, directed toward heaven, the negligence of the diſhevelled hair, the affliction of the up-turned weeping eyes of the Magdalen, and her half-opened mouth, denote her inward repentance, with ſuch lines and touches as the longer they are looked at the more they ſeem to live. Raphael himſelf could not have painted a Magdalen with greater truth; though he would have given her greater beauty.

The prodigal ſon, by Guercino, falling at the feet of his father, is painted with great ſtrength of feeling.

The ſick woman, by Gerhard Dowe, is executed with all the aſſiduity and with all that animated expreſſion, which this great artiſt

combined in ſo wonderful a manner. She ſits, leaning backward, in an arm chair. The phyſician ſtands behind her, with a thoughtful countenance, and holding a urinal up to the light. Her daughter kneels by her ſide, tenderly claſping her maternal hand. Another daughter, with filial love and attention, preſents a ſpoon, with phyſic in it, to her pale lips. The mother looks at her, with a calm, mild, countenance; but ſhe appears as if ſhe would much rather thank her daughter for her attention than open her lips to receive the medicine.

The annunciation of the Virgin, by Albani, though a ſmall, appears to me an excellent picture.

Charles the Firſt, by a ſcholar of Vandyke, and the three children of that monarch, by Vandyke himſelf, are painted with much of the animated deception of life.

St. Jerome, meditating on mortality, with a death's head in his hand, by Guido, is aſtoniſhingly beautiful.

Among theſe pictures, Rubens and his wife, painted by himſelf, are found. How willingly we contemplate the picture of a man, who has given us the picture of ſo many other

other men: eſpecially while we diſtinguiſh ſatisfaction, genius, and benevolence, in every line of his face!

There are two landſcapes, by Claude Lorraine, which are characterized by that ſoft, true, living, nature with which this great artiſt repreſented every kind of tree, every time of the day, and every ſeaſon of the year. He was as exquiſite, in the choice of his ſubjects, as he was accurate, in the repreſentation of them.

The hermit, ſitting in a hollow tree, is a fine proof of the animating and daring genius of Salvator Roſa.

An unfiniſhed Lucretia, by Guido, is a fine picture: though, as ſhe has juſt drawn the dagger from the wound, I do not ſee how ſhe could ſit upright.

A jovial fellow, by Gerhard Dowe, who triumphantly turns his glaſs upſide down, is excellent.

Wouwermans has ſome fine pictures here; and, among others, a horſe fair. A brown tiger-ſpotted horſe, ſomewhat ſtartled, and as if endeavouring to get free, has a wild look; which is preſerved from the head to the hoof, through his whole figure, with great harmony.

There are large and fine paintings, of the

victories gained, by the warlike Dukes and Kings of Savoy, over the French.

Different landſcapes, of views in Italy and on the Rhine, are likewiſe ſome of them very beautiful.

Between the caſtle and the principal church, the chapel of the holy handkerchief is built; which relic the city believes itſelf to poſſeſs. The chapel is entirely of black marble. The capitals of the pillars, and the large ſilver candleſticks, by which alone the building is lighted, are gilded. The entrance inſpires holy ſolemnity. The ſuppoſed genuine handkerchief, which is conſiderably large, is only publicly exhibited at the beginning of a new reign, at the marriage of the prince royal, or when any perſon of great rank arrives at Turin, and makes the requeſt. We were here ſhewn a chalice of extraordinary value, ſet with jewels; ſaid to be the richeſt in Italy. It is in a good taſte.

This chapel ſtands immediately between the caſtle and the high church. Next to the caſtle is the large theatre, which is one of the handſomeſt in Italy. It is only open during carnival time; and I have not been able to form any good judgment of it, having only

ſeen it by the light of a flambeau. The glimpſe I had, however, gave me pleaſure, by the noble ſtyle in which it is built. It is cenſured as not accurately conveying the ſounds; for, as it is ſaid, only the ſpectators in the boxes can hear.

The theatre of the Prince of Carignan is beautiful without pomp. The comic opera is performed here, during ſummer. There is likewiſe a third theatre in the city, and a fourth is to be added.

The celebrated palace of the Duke of Savoy, the façade of which is built with pillars of the Corinthian order, ſtands near the caſtle; than which it is a much finer building. Next to this, the palace of the Prince of Carignan is, in my opinion, the handſomeſt.

The arſenal, which is ſtill to be enlarged, is a fine and uncommonly capacious building, including five courts. The halls are ſupported by heavy pillars, ſimilar to thoſe of Gothic churches. Round each of theſe pillars a thouſand muſkets are ranged, in an ornamental manner. Pyramids are erected between them; on which horſe piſtols are piled, with great elegance. In the midſt of theſe halls is one of a large ſize, and circular form; the walls and

pillars of which are ornamented with trophies, of antient armour, ranged in military pomp. Before the doors of this hall, the figures of old warriors ſtand, erect, in complete armour.

The arſenal contains arms for a hundred and twenty thouſand men. The cylindrical ramrod, for artillery, is not yet in uſe: the ramrods here are all of iron.

In an adjoining chamber, we were ſhewn a conſiderable number of ſmall light arms; which, from being very wide at the muzzle, are called tromboni, as reſembling a trumpet. The King has forbidden the uſe of them; they being deſtructive, and eaſy of carriage, and, therefore, well adapted for the banditti: for which reaſon they have all been bought up. They are capable of being loaded either with ſeveral balls or with cartridge ſhot; with which, by ſcattering, they make dreadful havock.

There is a cannon foundery, and likewiſe a chemical laboratory, annexed to the arſenal. The whole is under the ſuperintendance of the learned Count Saluzzo; who has had ſo great a ſhare in regulating the improvements of the academy. This nobleman, who, to great learning and ſkill in war, adds the dignified manners

ners and free deportment of an antient gentleman, is deſcended from the family that once held Saluzzo as a marquiſate. In the ſixteenth century, two brothers conteſted their claims to this diſtrict. One of them ſurrendered it to France: but the Duke of Savoy ſoon demanded it as a fief, dependant on him, and took it from the French. It was afterward conquered by Henry the Fourth of France; and again, in the year 1601, ceded to Savoy.

I and my wife, the firſt afternoon that was convenient, went upon the Corſo. This is the name of a charming public place; where, at this ſeaſon of the year, every evening, from five to ſix, the nobility aſſemble: though they come rather to exhibit themſelves and their equipage, than to converſe and enjoy the beautiful proſpect on the Po. Faſhion is honoured here, in preference to Nature. On the banks of the river, near the city, is the beautiful royal caſtle of Valentin; which the preſent King has granted to his chamberlain in chief, as a ſummer reſidence. The garden annexed to it is applied to botanical ſtudies.

Sluices are carried through the ſtreets, to cleanſe them, by means of a canal, which re-

ceives its waters from the Dora. Theſe ſluices flow through drains into the Po; by which means the city is always clean. There are many large ſquares here, among which that of St. Charles is the moſt ſpacious and beautiful. The buildings are handſome, and it has extenſive arcades on each ſide.

We went to viſit the Marquis of Caranzana, who is ſecretary of war, at his vineyard; from which we had a view of all Piedmont, properly ſo called, and a part of the county of Aſti. At a little diſtance on a hill below us, we ſaw the royal caſtle of Montecalieri, in the front of which two rivulets pour their waters into the Po. Here too we had a long proſpect of the Po, whoſe windings have a delightful ſerpentine appearance. The fertile plains ſeem like another paradiſe. Arable lands, vineyards, meadows, and paſtures, with interchangeable variety, are ſeen: while the poplar, the mulberry, and innumerable fruit trees, caſt their ſhades around, and look like ſo many pleaſure groves. The Po meanders through the plains; till, at laſt, it loſes itſelf, among the diſtant poplars, as if to relieve the flatneſs which might elſe fatigue the eye: and, at the

fartheſt limits of the horizon, the proud Alps ſtand, linked with another chain of mountains that unite them to the Apennines.

It was here that Hannibal ſhewed his wearied army the rich European plains: or, if it were not here, it might well have been here. I muſt not forget to tell you that, owing to the extreme heat of the preſent ſummer, the foliage is nearly as much faded as it is in the north of Germany, or even in Denmark, at the ſame ſeaſon.

The mulberry, which having been deprived of its firſt leaves has ſprouted a ſecond time, is the only tree that is entirely green. The flowers ſtill bloom, in youth and beauty; and now, while I am writing, carnations, roſes, gillyflowers, and double violets, which the gardener on this delightful day has juſt gathered for my wife, are perfuming the chamber in which I ſit.

The grapes here are excellent, and of various kinds. The wine commonly drunk here is not agreeable to Germans: it is either too acid, too heavy, or too ſweet. I have now however drunk of the white and red *vino amabile;* both of which were made from the vineyards of the Marquis, and both of which

are excellent: eſpecially the red, which, pearly, as the *œil de perdrix* of Champagne, unites the charming flavour of the raſberry with the fine glow of the grape.

The red and white veined truffle, which is peculiar to this country, is much preferred to the black, by the inhabitants; of which laſt they have plenty. The truffle hound was firſt brought to Germany from Piedmont.

The cattle of this country are more tame than thoſe of Switzerland, but equally large. They are all either of a clear brown or pale yellow colour: thoſe few of the Poliſh breed excepted which are of a white grey. For ploughing and for draft, the farmers prefer them to horſes.

Their waggons are low, and very ſtrong beneath; and I believe that, if they be loaded with a proper equipoiſe, it would be difficult to overturn them. The backward bent ſhaft, to the upper bending of which the chains of the ſhaft oxen are faſtened, riſes nearly an ell higher than their horns. It may be drawn downward by the ſtrength of the cattle; but does not run the danger, in that caſe, as is frequent with us, of being diſplaced, when the road is uneven, by the quick aſcent of the ſhaft.

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The pull of the cattle is entirely from the yoke: they have no ſide harneſs.

The farmers here, with a few exceptions, are not proprietors of the land: but they are not ſerfs. What follows is the general ſtate, in Piedmont, of the landlord and farmer. The ground and the houſe belong to the landlord. The farmer has a leaſe for three years; which leaſe may be continually renewed, but muſt not be made for a longer period. For the poſſeſſion of his farm, which is here called a *caſino*, the farmer gives half the produce of his lands, his wine, and his raw ſilk. He enjoys however the whole produce of a certain ſmall part of his vineyard, and of a number of mulberry trees. He pays a ſmall rent for his hay: but farmers dare neither ſell their hay nor their ſtraw. The firſt they uſe as fodder, and the laſt as litter; by which their cattle are kept in good condition, and their land is well manured. In the neighbourhood of the city, indeed, they are permitted to ſell a certain quantity of both; on condition that they load their carts back with ſome kind of rubbiſh.

The farmers gain conſiderable ſums, by their trade in cattle. They purchaſe young oxen, in Switzerland, in autumn; at which

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ſeaſon, for want of hay, they are cheap in that country. After they have been uſed in agriculture, the paſtures into which they are turned are ſo rich that they ſell to great advantage. They likewiſe ſell their calves at a dear rate: eſpecially to the inhabitants on the confines of Genoa.

The ſame kind of regulations, with local varieties, prevail through the general ſtates of Italy; and theſe regulations appear to me to have much good in them. I could only wiſh that, after the example of England, the leaſes were for a longer period. The precaution in favour of heirs, leſt the farms ſhould be leaſed at an undervalue, ſeems to have given occaſion to theſe ſhort leaſes.

LETTER XXXII.

Turin, 30th October 1791.

TWO ſhort leagues from Turin, is the height on which the church called *La Superga* is built; and which is one of the moſt beautiful

beautiful places of Italy, consequently of Europe. This height overlooks the plains of all Piedmont, as far as the utmost limits of the Alps and Apennines. The church was built on this height in the year 1706, in consequence of a vow to the holy virgin, made by Victor Amadeus the Second, when the French were besieging Turin, to induce her to assist him to raise the siege. This help was sent him, in the person of the great Eugene, who led the imperial forces; and in that of the Prince of Anhalt, who commanded the Prussians.

There is a large building annexed to the church, which is inhabited by twelve canons, who are provided for as a part of the establishment. The whole has a striking appearance of grandeur, and magnificence. The church is ornamented with a cupola, on the sides of which two small towers are built. Facing the entrance there is an ornamental and noble row of pillars. The church is in the form of a Grecian cross: that is, a cross the length and breadth of which are equal. The pictures do not appear to me by any means so beautiful as the three bass reliefs, over the altars. The largest, over the high altar, represents the raising

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the ſiege of Turin. The holy virgin, with the child Jeſus, is ſuſpended over the army: at the head of which are Victor Amadeus, and Prince Eugene.

The beauty of the well diſpoſed ornaments, the pillars, of the white marble of Carara and the red of Piedmont, and the height of the cupola, produce altogether a grand effect. Whether, as ſome affirm, offences have been committed againſt the rules of architecture is a queſtion which I am not qualified to decide: but great beauty is not incompatible with defect; and the former has certainly been attained, in a building the aſpect of which, at its entrance, inſpires a ſenſation of grandeur and benevolence.

Over the inner entrance of the church is the following inſcription;

VIRGINI GENITRICI VICTOR AMADEUS SARDINIÆ REX BELLO GALLICO VOVIT, PULSIS HOSTIBUS EXTRUXIT DEDICAVITQUE.

Vowed to the Virgin Mother, by Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia, when at war with France: and, his enemies being vanquiſhed, erected and dedicated.

The royal ſepulchral vault is under the church. The coffins are grand, and nobly ornamented.

ornamented. It is a ſingular cuſtom, which is eſtabliſhed, that the King who died laſt is to be buried in one particular grave, out of which his predeceſſor is to be removed. The preſent king ſeems to have felt the inconvenience of this cuſtom. The body of his father, which has indeed been buried as the laſt deceaſed in this dedicated grave, is incloſed in a magnificent coffin; on which is an inſcription, that begins thus:

SEMPITERNÆ MEMORIÆ ET QUIETI——

Sacred to eternal remembrance and repoſe——

The canons have an excellent library; which is particularly rich in the writings of the fathers; and is well provided in the claſſics, and in the works of good modern authors.

We were not ſatisfied with the grand proſpect from the terrace, but aſcended the ſmall ſtaircaſe, which leads to the narrow outlet at the top of the cupola; where, at a ſingle view, we beheld one of the ſublimeſt ſpectacles in nature: the plains of Piedmont, the meanders of the Po, the whole ſhining circle of the ſnow-covered Alps, and after theſe a range of the Apennines. The ſky was entirely clear,

and

and the dazzling brightneſs of the ſnowy mountains drew our attention from the cupola of Milan, which may ſometimes be diſcovered from this place: but our eyes were fixed on the more grand and beautiful objects, by which we were ſurrounded.

Judging from the ſituation of the country, we imagined that we could diſcover Mont Blanc, among this magnificent ridge of Alps; but our guide could give us no information on the ſubject. I need not inform you that the glaciers, ſeen from this place, do not appear to be the fartheſt limits of the horizon, but as confining it; as grand objects; fearful, yet ſublime in their approach. Beneath us lay Turin; next to that Rivoli; and afterward many cities, towns, villages, and caſtles, as upon a map. All that is produced by the hand of man here looks diminutive; and nature, eternal and ever youthful nature, ſeems only to be viſible. The Po, in all its beauty, winds along the laughing plains: the Alps, in all their grandeur, tower like the walls of God.

La Veneria is the principal country palace of the King; and is ſituated about two leagues and a half from Turin. The Royal Family always remain here fifty days, in the ſpring of the

the year. The church is beautiful: the palace contains handſome apartments, and the garden is very large; but entirely laid out in the French taſte, and probably by Le Notre himſelf, who was at Turin.

The orangery is a noble building; and the trees that belong to it were not returned into the green-houſe till this week. We have lately had ſome cold days. Reaumur's thermometer has frequently, at an early hour, been only five degrees above the freezing point; and at ſeven o'clock this morning it was only two degrees.

Count Morozzo, who is the director of the academy, has ſhewn us that building and the high obſervatory. From this, we could overlook the whole city, and the country, far around. We were delightfully ſurpriſed, while the Count, who is well acquainted with the geography of the country, pointed out the whole courſe of the gigantic Alps; which begin on the limits of Provence and Dauphiné: then, in different directions, ſeparate Savoy from Piedmont, and from Valais, afterward loſe themſelves in the country of the Griſons, and divide Tyrol from Italy.

Count Morozzo ſhewed us the model of a

ſmall

ſmall turret, which is to be built over the academy. It is to be convex at the top and pointed; and ſo contrived that, by the aid of eaſily governable machinery, it can be turned in any direction. By this means, the teleſcope may ſo be placed that the whole canopy of heaven may be ſeen through a few openings at the top.

This morning, I was preſented to the king and the royal family, at Montecalieri. His majeſty is ſixty-five years old, and has an animated appearance. He is much honoured and beloved by his ſubjects; which he has well deſerved, by his dignity of character, and faithful adminiſtration of public affairs. The prince royal of Piedmont appears to have much animation; and certainly has, at preſent, the welfare of the country at heart.

The politeneſs with which the nobility of this country receive ſtrangers is conſpicuous in the royal family.

Henry the Fourth prided himſelf on the honour of his being the firſt gentleman in the kingdom; and France found itſelf happy under the government of a poliſhed hero, who was a patriot king; or, at leaſt, to his people he has fully realized this imaginary character, and

and given them as much ſatisfaction as perhaps ever was, or ever will be, within the power of a king.

The muſeum of the univerſity contains many curioſities. Among its valuable collection of antiques is a ſleeping Cupid, of white marble, of the ſize of life; and of uncommon beauty. He lies extended, with drooping wings, on a lion's hide; his left leg turned under his right, while the gentle life of ſleep breathes through the whole form of the charming boy.

Two Egyptian figures, ſeated, one of which repreſents the goddeſs Æluros with a cat's face, the other apparently a prieſt, appear to be of the higheſt antiquity.

The table of Iſis is the moſt remarkable curioſity. It is of black marble, with many Egyptian figures and hieroglyphics encruſted in ſilver. It was diſcovered at Rome, in the place where formerly a temple of Iſis ſtood. The Egyptian worſhip, which, in deſpite of the oppoſition made by the ſenate, more than once gained a footing in Rome, was openly indulged, or rather favoured, in the times of the Cæſars. This table was once in the poſſeſſion of the learned Cardinal Peter Bembo;

and afterward of the Duke of Mantua. In the year 1630, when Mantua was taken and plundered by the Auſtrians, Cardinal Para obtained it, and preſented it to the Duke of Savoy. It has been ſomewhat damaged by the rapacity of the ſoldiers; who tore away a few of the inlaid figures, for the ſake of the ſilver. The drawings that were made of it having been thought imperfect, it has now been engraved.

I ſaw ſome beautiful moſaic works, that had been diſcovered in Sardinia. Having been damaged by age, they have moſt of them been repaired. The art of repairing them is no leſs ingenious than that by which old paintings have been transferred to new canvas. Canvas is ſpread upon a table, and rubbed over with pitch: the cement which holds the ſmall ſtones together, on the other ſide, is then looſened, and the ſtones are placed upon the canvas in the pitchy maſs, which is ſo prepared that, though moiſt at the preſent, it will harden. The canvas is then ſeparated from it, and the work afterward appears in all its recovered beauty. People are at preſent employed in thus recovering an Orpheus, playing upon the lyre. Various wild animals, which, accord-

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ing to the fable, are ſuppoſed to have liſtened to Orpheus, the ferocity of which monſters his muſic had the power to tame, have been entirely reſtored.

The cabinet of medals contains many beautiful antient coins. There are fifty-five thouſand volumes in the library, and about two thouſand manuſcripts. Among the latter is a Pliny, of the fifteenth, and a Dante of the fourteenth, century; both remarkably beautiful. The Pliny is ornamented with well executed illuminations, which are conſonant to the ſubject.

Among the printed books is a bible, in eleven folio volumes and four different languages: the Hebrew, the Chaldaic, the Greek, and the Latin. Philip the ſecond King of Spain made a preſent of it to the Duke of Savoy. I think I never have ſeen ſo beautiful an impreſſion.

There are various curioſities, in Turin and its neighbourhood, which I have not been able to examine. I have not only left the rake at home, which a certain deſcription of travellers uſe, whoſe purpoſe is a trading voyage; but I have likewiſe neglected many things that might be worthy the notice of a rational gleaner. I

have neither ſeen the country ſeat called Stupinigi, which is very celebrated, nor the Queen's vineyard. I have ſeen but a few of the churches, and thoſe only curſorily.

Turin is very populous. The ſtreets are full of people; though the court, the greateſt part of the nobility, and many ſtudents and profeſſional men, to the number of three thouſand, are abſent; it being now vacation. In winter, the number of inhabitants is eſtimated at nearly one-hundred thouſand.

The high arcades, which adorn the Po-ſtreet and various others of the beſt ſtreets, are filled with ſhops. The number of tradeſmen and mechanics, who expoſe their wares for ſale, is extraordinarily great.

In the great ſquare, the people aſſemble to gaze at the tricks which are played by jugglers; or to liſten to the quack doctors, who ſtand on a high ſcaffold with monkeys by their ſide. The quack appeals to his monkey, who pretends to be ſick, for the recommendation of his medicines; and by this mummery addreſſes himſelf to his wiſe auditors. I was not ſo much ſurpriſed at the ludicrous gravity of the doctor, who had a part to act, as at the ſerious attention of the gaping multitude.

titude. Though I do not think they conſider him as a great conjuror, yet they do ſeem to rank him as one of their virtuoſi; and of a peculiar kind. It appears to me that whatever relates to the art of acting is a thing of great importance, among the Italians. Either I miſtake, or, what Cicero ſaid of the Greeks of his age may, with great truth, be applied to this people: *Natio comœda eſt.*

LETTER XXXIII.

Genoa, 3d November 1791.

WE departed for Villa Nova on the 31ſt of October, in the afternoon; and journeyed through the pleaſant and fertile plains of Lombardy. The following day at noon, we were at Aſti; which is a very antient and in part well built town; and, in the Roman times, was called Aſta Pompeia.

We paſſed the evening at Felizzano. Between this little place and Aleſſandria, we found the next morning the road was bad; va-

rious rivers, and particularly the Tanaro, which runs through Aſti and Aleſſandria, had overflowed from the rains, and injured the roads and bridges. Aleſſandria is a tolerable town. It lies in the Piedmont diſtrict of Milan; which, in the year 1703, was ceded at the treaty of Turin by Auſtria to Savoy. It was built toward the end of the twelfth century, by the citizens of Milan, Cremona, and Placenza; as a place of refuge againſt the Emperor Frederic the Firſt. You may remember that moſt of the Italian cities were of the party of the Guelphs, and were in favour of the Popes, whoſe excommunications were iſſued againſt the Emperors of Germany; and eſpecially againſt the powerful houſe of Hohenſtaufen; though ſometimes ineffectually The new town, Aleſſandria, in the year 1178 was named after Pope Alexander the Third. The title of *della Paglia* (of the ſtraw) was given it, not as ſome have falſely maintained becauſe the inhabitants of this place burn ſtraw inſtead of wood, but becauſe the Ghibelin faction mocked at the builders of a town, the walls of which were compoſed of clay and ſtraw. Frederic notwithſtanding, after a tedious ſiege, was obliged to quit theſe walls.

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The Latin inſcription in the interior of the high church, which mentions this occurrence, does not mention the Emperor with the offenſive epithet Barbaroſſa; but the more elegant Latin, *Ænobarba:* which in the Roman ages was applied to the race of Domitian.

The town has a conſiderable trade; particularly in cotton, ſilk, and the merchandize of the Eaſt. It is ſituated between the Tanaro and the river Bormia, in a fruitful plain, that is very rich in mulberry trees. It is no proof of the induſtry nor much to the honour of the country of Piedmont, that it barters much raw ſilk for ſilk after it is manufactured. The fields and paſtures, in this country, are cut through with drains; which receive the water and prevent the bad effects of inundations. The ſides of theſe drains are planted with hedges, which ſupply the inhabitants with fire wood. The large dark-blue grapes of theſe parts are excellent. One regiment of cavalry, and two of infantry, are ſtationed in garriſon at Aleſſandria.

Yeſterday afternoon, we left Aleſſandria, and proceeded to Novi; and ſaw the Apennine mountains, with their tops covered with ſnow, immediately before us. Theſe famous

mountains appeared to us but a row of hills, compared to the towering white Alps; which, although at a diſtance, ſeemed as if they were in our neighbourhood, whenever we turned to look at their beaming ſummits.

The territories of Genoa began at a ſhort diſtance before we reached Novi; which is a well built little town. Here we found, what we had ſo much wiſhed for in Piedmont and Savoy, a cleanly inn.

We ſet off early in the morning, that we might reach Genoa before the gates were ſhut. The road leads through valleys, and over ſome heights of the Apennines; the moſt celebrated of which form what is called *La Bocchetta.* As we proceeded over theſe mountains, we met an uncommon number of loaded mules, and aſſes. Some of the heights are rude and craggy; but moſt of them are planted with the genuine cheſnut tree. We had all along anticipated the pleaſure we ſhould have at the Bocchetta, by viewing from theſe heights the Mediterranean ſea: but a thick cloud diſagreeably robbed us of this noble proſpect; for we had deſcended into the valley before it had diſperſed.

There is a very diſtinguiſhable difference in the

the ſeaſons, between the north and ſouth ſide of the Apennines. On the north, the leaves were all faded; here they were ſtill green. The cheſnut trees are of a ſuperior growth: the mulberry and the fig tree are uncommonly large; and in Campo Marone, where we baited at noon, we ſaw in the open air a tall laurel tree.

A continued and heavy rain robbed us of the beauty of our journey from Campo Marone to Genoa. Our way led us beſide the river Biſageo; which empties itſelf into the Mediterranean, not far from Genoa. This country muſt formerly have been very difficult to travel; but, in the year 1778, a magnificent road was made, which, for the ſpace of three years, employed from five to eight hundred men, and at the expence of the patrician family Cambiaſi. The republic is indebted to the nobility for public buildings, and foundations, which would do honour to a monarch.

Immediately before we came to Genoa, we had at laſt a ſight of the ſea; the expected delight of which we had been ſo long indulging. We paſſed many beautiful country houſes, belonging to the Genoeſe, before we came to the city. The ſite of Genoa is the-

atrical

atrical in its form, riſing from the ſhore in a curve like a ſickle. The rain and the duſk of the evening greatly concealed a proſpect, which, in ſpite of theſe diſadvantages, was ſtill highly grand, and beautiful.

LETTER XXXIV.

Genoa, 4th November 1791.

THIS city is of very high antiquity, and of very doubtful origin. Though ſome of the antients have called this the chief city of Liguria, they have taken the name in its limited ſignification, as it is now applied to the territory of Genoa. In thoſe times, the name of Liguria was given to the whole extent of country which lies between the Rhone and Arno. I am of opinion that the antient writers, who have called Tauraſia, or Turin, the chief city of Liguria, meant by the latter, that part of the great Liguria which extends from the Po to the Apennines, and is now called Piedmont. The Greek and Roman name

name of this city was the ſame: we call it Genoa; the Italians Genova. In the barbarous ages, there were ſome who gave it the name of Janua; and hence derived its origin from the antient Janus, who reigned in Italy fifteen hundred years before the birth of Chriſt.

Genoa was early allied to the Romans; and, in the ſecond Punic war, was deſtroyed by Mago, the brother of Hannibal. An antient inſcription proves that it afterward became a Roman municipal city. When the Oſtro-Goths overran the Roman Empire, this city fell under their juriſdiction; but was again recovered by Beliſarius. It was afterward laid waſte by the Saracens, and Lombards. Charlemagne was the laſt who took it; and he reſtored it to its antient freedom. His ſon Pepin, however, gave it to Adhemar, a Frenchman, with the title of Count. The yoke of theſe counts was ſhaken off by the Genoeſe, in the eleventh century; and they then appointed Conſuls. Even in theſe times, the city was ſurrounded with walls; and divided into ſix parts, with a tribune over each diviſion.

Quarrels ſoon divided the citizens, who choſe

choſe a foreigner to be their podeſta, or chief magiſtrate; but, weary of this, they appointed a governor; and afterward elected a doge, from the nobility and the citizens.

They were induced, by new diſturbances, to put themſelves under the power of Charles the Sixth, of France. In the year 1409, they broke the chains with which they had fettered themſelves, put the French garriſon to death, and ſubjected themſelves to the Marquis of Montferrat. Four years afterward, they recovered their liberties, and once more elected a doge: but they ſoon became tributary to the Duke of Milan; and again, in the year 1436, regained their freedom. In the year 1458, they once more ſubjected themſelves to the French; and in three years the people aſſerted their former rights, and reinſtituted the doge. They once more offered themſelves to Lewis the Eleventh; who replied that, if Genoa were his, he would conſign it to the Devil.

After this, the city was torn by inteſtine diviſions; by the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelins, and by the conteſts between the families of Adorno and Fregoſo. The emperors of Germany, the kings of France, and the dukes

dukes of Milan, governed it in turns; and it was on the brink of deſtruction when the naval hero, Andrea Doria, one of the greateſt men Italy ever produced, ſnatched it from the arms of France, and once more reſtored it to freedom. It was in his own choice to have been the monarch of his country: but he nobly declined the ſovereign rule; and was more honoured by the thankful citizens, when they gave him the high title of Father of his country, than he could have been, had he obtained the empire of the world. Since that time Genoa has uſually been allied with Spain.

In the year 1684, it was bombarded by the French; and obtained peace only on the moſt humiliating conditions. The doge, who, according to law, was never to be abſent, was obliged, with four ſenators, to make a journey to Verſailles; there to pay homage to the arrogant Lewis the Fourteenth. While they were ſhewing him the parts of this new magnificent palace, he was aſked, what of all the things he had ſeen he thought the moſt ſurpriſing? He replied, with a ſatiric ſmile, It was to ſee the Doge of Genoa at Verſailles.

The conſtitution of this free ſtate is an ariſtocracy:

ariſtocracy: or rather an oligarchy. The government is in the hands of the patricians; who are divided into the old and new nobility. This diſtinction firſt began with eight-and-twenty families; that, in the year 1588, were ſeparated by Doria from the reſt. However, the antient nobility do not date higher than the twelfth century. Since that time, other noble families have been added to the antient nobility. The new nobility conſiſt of about five hundred families; at the head of whom are the Giuſtiniani, who are properly of the antient nobility.

The new nobility was formerly excluded from the chief offices of the State. Their privileges are now equal to thoſe of the antient race; though the latter enjoy more power and reſpect. The doge is elected once in two years; and is alternately choſen from the old and new nobility. He has the precedence of ſpeech and place, in all their public aſſemblies; and, after his two years have expired, complaints may be lodged againſt him, for the ſpace of eight days. Should judgment be given in favour of the accuſers, he is excluded from any ſhare in public affairs. No doge can be re-elected, till after a lapſe of ten years.

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The two principal public bodies are the *governatori*, and the *procuratori*. The *ſignoria*, or ſenate, conſiſts of the twelve *governatori* and the doge. The *procuratori* are eight, with the addition of thoſe doges who have been in office, and who enjoy this privilege for life. Official appointments are only granted for two years.

The ſignoria deliberates on the moſt ſecret affairs: but the moſt important muſt be ſubmitted to the deciſion of the great council, to which muſt be likewiſe added the conſent of the procuratori. To the latter the ſuperintendance of the treaſury and the public revenues is entruſted. All the nobility who have attained the age of twenty-two, have been three years citizens, and are of unſullied reputation, may belong to the great council; which muſt not exceed the number of four hundred. This council it is true is annually elected; but the ſame members are always re-choſen.

The legiſlative power reſides in the great council: but the little council, which conſiſts of the governatori, the procuratori, and two hundred counſellors, has a predominating influence.

The college of the *ſupremi ſyndicatori* re-

viſes the adminiſtration of the doges, the governatori, the procuratori, and other magiſtrates, as ſoon as they have laid down their dignities. Three conſervators of peace, and two conſervators of laws, are choſen every other year. The latter ſuperintend elections: the former enquire into private diſputes; particularly of the matrimonial kind.

Among various colleges, or committees, which I ſhall omit to deſcribe, I muſt not forget one, whoſe office is worthy of univerſal imitation. It is to enquire into and defend the rights of poor priſoners. The adminiſtration of juſtice, which is called *rota civile*, is entruſted to a college of five doctors; who are foreigners, and who are elected to their office once in two years. Whether the college of penal judges, *rota criminale*, conſiſts of foreigners is more than I know. The reaſon that they chooſe foreigners for the adminiſtration of public juſtice is, no doubt, that they expect more impartiality from people who have no connection in the country, than from natives: but it ought to have been recollected that judges, who continue only two years in the country, are the more liable to be corrupted. Nor can it, certainly, be any good

policy, thus degradingly to miſtruſt their own citizens. We indubitably poſſeſs very excellent courts of juſtice, in Germany; on which no ſhade of partiality has been caſt.

The bank of St. George is a kind of government within the government: for it has its own laws, magiſtrates, and aſſemblies. The perſons who are the ſtock-holders are the members of this government. Their revenues are greater, by one half, than thoſe of the republic; the income of which does not exceed a million of dollars.

In the year 1746, this bank advanced five millions of dollars to the State; and, in the year 1751, it was in great danger of bankruptcy: but the great council granted it aid, by eſtabliſhing a poll tax for twenty years.

The council of the republic annually elect a procurator, and eight protectors; who ſuperintend the affairs of the bank.

The territories of the republic contain ninety German ſquare miles, allowing fifteen miles to a degree; and its population is eſtimated at four hundred thouſand ſouls. The country is mountainous, and ſterile; the people laborious and hardy. This is teſtified of

them by Diodorus Siculus*. Their grain is insufficient for their own consumption: but this is amply compensated, by their vineyards and their orchards of excellent fruits. Protected from the north winds by the Apennines, they enjoy a mild climate; which produces fruits superior to those of Tuscany, and only equalled by the southern provinces of the Church states. The lemon, the orange, and pomegranate, ripen on trees that stand in the open air. Of almonds and figs they have great abundance; and their mulberry and olive trees are innumerable.

The silk manufactory of the city is so extensive that the raw silk, produced in their own territory, is an insufficient supply: they are therefore obliged to purchase more from the two Sicilies, and Piedmont. The oil produced at the presses of St. Remo is acknowledged to be the best in Europe.

From the multitude and beauty of its palaces, the city deserves the epithet of *La superba*, or the magnificent; which it has obtained. Were it not for the narrowness of the Strada Balbi, and the Strada Nuova, they

* Diodor. vol. i. p. 265—66. ed. Wessel.

would

would be the moſt beautiful ſtreets in the world. There is no place from which their lofty palaces can be properly ſeen. The pavement is of ſtone, with three rows of flags: one of them, in the middle, broad; and the two ſides next to the houſes narrow. The ſtreets are kept clean with remarkable care. Many of them are uncommonly narrow; and, as the town is exceedingly populous, the throng is exceedingly inconvenient. The houſes are from five to ſix ſtories high: and I have even counted ſome that were ſeven and eight.

A little French work, entitled *Deſcription des beautés de Génes*, 1781*, enumerates and deſcribes forty-three palaces, beſide the palace of the Doge, which are moſt of them built in a noble ſtyle: though many of them are disfigured, by painted pillars and other intended ornaments. The ſituation, on the ſhore of the Mediterranean, is certainly one of the grandeſt and moſt beautiful in the world. Built in the form of a creſcent, the ſhore itſelf having the ſame form, the city riſes on its little hills, which are overhung by rocks. The haven is uncommonly ſpacious, circular, and bounded

* A deſcription of the beauties of Genoa.

by a high ſtone wall; round which the citizens walk.

Two lighthouſes ſtand at each end of the entrance into the haven: from which the eye loſes itſelf in the expanſe of waters. A much higher lighthouſe is likewiſe built, on a rock which has the form of a cone.

No ſooner does the town end than the country houſes of its rich citizens begin. The high gardens afford repoſe to the eye, when, not ſo much fatigued as terrified by viewing the wild waves, it turns in ſearch of more tranquil objects. Yet it cannot long refrain from reverting again to the mighty deep; the charms of which, to me, appear irreſiſtible. We were ſtanding on a wall, that was at leaſt ſixteen ells above the ſurface of the ſea. The air was calm, yet the motion of the water was grand. We ſaw the ſwelling waves proceeding from a great diſtance, till at laſt they came daſhing, with the noiſe of thunder, againſt the walls; and ſprung, vaulting ſo furiouſly that they ſaluted us with their ſpray*.

† I have ſince often remarked, in Sicily, that one of the general ſigns of the Scirocco is, that, when this wind prevails, the ſea is in great motion though the air is calm. It blows from the ſouth-weſt.

When

When the ſky is clear, the coaſt of Corſica may be ſeen.

Genoa is a free port; but not ſo much frequented, by foreign nations, as Leghorn: partly becauſe it is not quite ſo ſafe, and partly becauſe the privileges of foreigners are not ſo great, as in the latter town. The limitations here are, that each foreign merchant may keep warehouſes; in which, during a year, he may admit, or from which he may export, his merchandize duty free: except that, if this merchandize ſhould be purchaſed in the ſtate or city of Genoa, he muſt in that caſe pay a heavy duty.

The number of the inhabitants of the city is ſuppoſed to be eighty thouſand. The fineſt proſpect of the haven, toward the Mediterranean, is from the garden of the great palace of Doria; which is built fronting the gate on the eaſt ſide of the city. In the centre of the garden, and in the middle of a large fountain, is the ſtatue of Andrea Doria; under the figure of Neptune, ſtanding in a chariot of ſhells, and drawn by three horſes. He holds a trident in his right hand; and his attitude and mien are commanding: as if, in the words of Virgil, he were ſaying *Quos ego!* He is ſurrounded

by box ſhrubs and cypreſs trees, cut and clipped in a wretched taſte, equally unworthy of the grandeur of the place and of the man.

On one ſide is a charming alley of the large evergreen prickly oak; the leaves of which, in form and colour, reſemble the dark laurel leaves, or the ſhining foliage which we occaſionally find in the prickly hollyoak. The acorn is like that of an oak, only ſomething leſs.

On the other ſide is an orange grove; the trees of which, in the ſevere winter of 1788-89, were almoſt frozen to the root: but have ſince ſo far recovered, and become ſo fruitful, as ſcarcely to leave any trace of this misfortune. Some of the ſweet orange trees, which have ſuffered a little, are of a conſiderable ſize; and are now, in their growth and beauty, richly adorned with the golden apples of the Heſperides. Though it is November, roſes and carnations are in bloom; and ſo continue to be, during the whole winter. The ſpectator imagines himſelf in the gardens of Alcinous; or tranſported to the iſland of Calypſo. I take it for granted that the difference of climate, between Genoa and Turin, is as great as that between Turin and Frankfort.

You

You would be ſurpriſed to ſee ſprouts of the fig, and the laurel, growing between the crevices of old walls. The fruit and vegetable market is now, in November, amply ſupplied. Among other fruits, there is a cheap berry which exceedingly reſembles the ſtrawberry: except that it is ſomething larger, and of a deeper red: though in taſte and ſcent it is much inferior. The plant that bears it is called the *Arbutus unedo.* The Reaumur thermometer at preſent is twelve degrees above the freezing point. In the ſevere winter of 1788, which is here ſpoken of as a remarkable event, it was never lower than the fifth degree below the freezing point.

Our time is limited, and it would require a long ſtay to examine all that is worthy of being ſeen, in the churches and palaces. The church of St. Charles is built in the form of a Greek croſs: the ſide chapel, which is on the left of the high altar, is of black marble. There is a large bronze crucifix, of great beauty. There are likewiſe twelve buſts of bronze. The whole chapel is the work of Algardi.

The church of the Annunciata is rich and magnificent. The nave is ſupported by large

indented pillars, of white marble, the hollow parts of which are incruſted with a mottled red and white marble. I did not think the pictures very admirable; except that, over the entrance, is a Chriſt adminiſtering the laſt ſupper, the maſter piece of Giulio Ceſare Procaccino, which is really excellent. We ſaw it indeed to a diſadvantage; for the church itſelf is not light, and the day was on the decline. The whole ceiling is painted. The church appeared to me to have two faults; which, being combined, mutually increaſe each other: it is dark, and of different colours.

The Exchange is not ſo magnificent as might have been expected, in an antient wealthy and commercial city, like this: but it is light, ſpacious, and convenient. It is ſurrounded by the retail ſhops of the citizens.

The Jeſuits' college, which, ſince the abolition of the order, has been inhabited by other learned men, ſtands in the Strada Balbi. One of the Balbi family gave this palace to the Jeſuits, in the laſt century. The pillars of the court, the ſtaircaſe, the high galleries, which are likewiſe ſupported by pillars, and the two large lions of white marble, which catch the

eye

eye at the lower ſtaircaſe, as ſoon as you paſs the portico through which you enter, produce altogether a great effect.

The great place, Aqua Verde, which is much celebrated, I thought very indifferent.

About noon, as we were ſitting at table, a well dreſſed man entered the room, and threw before us a little unbound book. This book contained poems, that he had compoſed. He likewiſe announced himſelf as an *improviſatore*, and deſired me to give him a ſubject. I gave him the fall of Phaeton. Scarcely had I uttered the word, before he began, with incredible volubility, and with a very animated geſture, to ſing. Not being ſufficiently familiarized with the Italian pronunciation, and leſs acquainted with the language than was neceſſary for the occaſion, we found it difficult to follow the inceſſant flow of the words of a ſinging improviſatore: however, I underſtood ſufficient to admire the fertility of his verſification, the fervour of his imagery, and the enthuſiaſm of his imagination.

I own to you that, till I had heard this man, I had no great reſpect for what may be called a legerdemain exhibition of genius: and I am ſtill very far from comparing this

kind

kind of facility of intellect with thoſe inſpired moments when the poet feels himſelf involuntarily ſeized, with a grandeur of conception and a flow of thought which he cannot reſtrain. There is however an innate fertility, which ſeems peculiar to a people whoſe animation is univerſal, whoſe productive power is great, and who have proved their ſuperiority in works of every kind; which are immortal *.

Erneſt has, at laſt, had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing a giant. He is a German, who comes from ſome place near Frankfort on the Main. He is more than two heads taller than the common ſize of men: but, like the other giants whom I have ſeen, he appears to be weak and helpleſs. I could not forbear laughing at a man, who, although he ſaw the boots the giant uſually wore, and that his hands and arms were of a proportionate ſize to the reſt of

* The Portugueſe likewiſe have their improviſatori. The Spaniſh comedians poſſeſs a ſimilar talent. I am informed that their poets only furniſh ſketches for their plays: and that the players add dialogue of their own, which is not preconcerted. They not only vie with the wit of the poet, but endeavour, by the ſallies of genius, to rival each other: ſo that the ſame piece, every time it is performed, is played with new variations.

his

his body, yet fell into the abſurd perſuaſion that he made himſelf tall by the height of his boot heels. The giant, by pulling off his boot, put him to the bluſh. I mention this incident as characteriſtic of a certain kind of obſtinacy of unbelief. The man imagined himſelf wiſer than we were, becauſe he had the wit to doubt of the ſize of a giant, who ſtood before his eyes.

LETTER XXXV.

Genoa, 7th November 1791.

THERE appears to me a ſingular difficulty, my friend, while innumerable beauties of every kind are floating before me, ſo to ſelect and deſcribe them as to give you pleaſure. Out of this multitude of objects, which ſolicit attention in Italy, a traveller can but chooſe a few. Their number and their worth oppreſs him

Velut unda ſupervenit undam :*
Wave impelling wave:

* Horace.

and

and embarraſs recollection. How difficult likewiſe is it to ſatisfy ourſelves, when we would wiſh to communicate the pleaſure we have received, while contemplating the works of nature or of genius!

The day before yeſterday, we began with the palace of Brignole; which is called the red palace, to diſtinguiſh it from another, that likewiſe belongs to one of the family of Brignole, and that ſtands oppoſite to it. We did not viſit it for the ſake of its magnificence, but to view the paintings: though our aſtoniſhment was excited by its grandeur, and good taſte. The moſt famous palaces of private perſons, among us, are poor, compared to theſe. If we except the hall of the knights, in the palace of Copenhagen, and the very extraordinary new palace of Prince Potemkin, at Peterſburg; it appears to me that all that I have beheld, in the palaces of princes and kings, is trifling, compared with the magnificence of thoſe of Genoa.

Of the many paintings, which I have ſeen here in palaces and churches, there are only a few that I can now remember ſufficiently to deſcribe. In the Brignole palace is a Phœbus, in his beaming car; with the four Seaſons, as

little Genii; and the Hours, ſtrewing roſes. One of the Hours is inexpreſſibly lovely, and graceful. The picture is by Dominico Piola.

A portrait of one of the Brignole family, on a white horſe, and, oppoſite, his wife, are both by Vandyke.

Chriſt driving the money changers, and ſellers of doves, out of the temple, is by Guercino. The countenance of Chriſt is moſt excellently expreſſive, of ſacred ſolemnity and commanding dignity. A female ſeller of doves looks at him with aſtoniſhment. A money changer appears very unwillingly impelled by apprehenſion to depart. Fear characteriſes all the fugitives.

Chriſt with the tribute money, by Vandyke, is a dignified painting. The countenance and attitude of Chriſt are noble, and beautiful, in the higheſt degree. The two ſcribes are marked by a natural and ſtrong expreſſion of deceitful knavery. The traits of comedy, which are viſible in their countenances, do not offend. Cunning diſappointed, and knavery outwitted, excite an inclination to laugh; however unwilling you may be. The ſteady eye of Chriſt penetrates to their very ſouls. It is a great picture.

A beau-

A beautiful Holy Family is by Giulio Ceſare Procaccino.

Theſe are the works which I perfectly well remember. The palace may contain about a hundred and fifty pictures; and among them are many maſterpieces: but the impreſſion they made on me was weakened by their number.

The church which formerly belonged to the Jeſuits, and which is now the church of St. Ambroſe, is a grand building. It is entirely painted in freſco, by Carlone.

Over the high altar is a large picture of the Circumciſion, by Rubens. It was painted in Antwerp; and he was deceived in the height at which it was intended to be hung: ſo that it is not now ſeen to good advantage.

I was better pleaſed with an Ignatius Loyola, exorciſing a woman poſſeſſed, and raiſing dead children. The calm mild grandeur of the ſaint is moſt excellently contraſted with the rage of the poſſeſſed woman; in whoſe attitude, backward diſtorted neck, and inflated throat, there is an expreſſion of great terror.

The Aſſumption of the Virgin, by Guido, is of heavenly beauty; and appears to me at leaſt

equal

equal to the famous Aſſumption, by the ſame maſter, which is at Düſſeldorf.

She is here high among the clouds, with angels hovering around her, and the apoſtles regarding her with aſtoniſhment and love.

The palace of the Doge is grand; but not to be compared with the palaces of many private individuals. The pillars are daubed over with paint, and the marble is concealed. The whole building appears to me rather to pretend to grandeur than to poſſeſs it. Fronting the ſtaircaſe in the court, there are marble buſts of Andrea and John Andrea Doria. They are ill executed; perhaps no better than the buſts of the Pruſſian generals, which are placed in William's Square in Berlin.

The halls of the little and the great councils are in this palace. That of the latter is very capacious, and reſts upon columns. The large ſtatues do not appear to me beautiful: neither did I think the pictures excellent. There are places left for many others, with which it is intended to ornament this hall.

The hall of the little council is beautiful: but I thought the pictures ſpotted and poor. There is an arſenal in this palace; which is formidably ſtored, and well arranged. Among other

other things, they here ſhew about thirty coats of mail; which, as it is ſaid, the Genoeſe women cauſed to be made for themſelves, toward the beginning of the fourteenth century, that they might make a cruſade. This warlike expedition was prevented by the Pope. Here too is a cannon of leather.

The iron head of a ſhip, as uſed by the antients, and which had been found in the haven, is kept in this arſenal. It is a roſtrum in its proper ſenſe; for its form is that of the head of a wild beaſt, worked to a point.

In the way from the palace of the Doge to the church of Carignan, we paſſed over a broad high ſtone bridge; the intention of which is to connect the hill of Carignan with the hill of Sarzano. It is ſo lofty that houſes of ſix ſtories high are built under its arches; between the roofs of which and the bridge there is ſtill a very conſiderable ſpace. On one ſide of the bridge, we could overlook a great part of the town; and on the other the haven, with a part of the weſtern coaſt. This bridge was erected by a perſon of the family of Sauli.

The predeceſſors of this noble citizen were the founders of the church of Carignan. The architect

architect that built it was Galeazzo Alessi Perugino. It is beautiful, light, and grand; and is adorned by four colossal statues of marble, the finest of which is Saint Sebastian, bound naked to a tree, with two arrow wounds in his side. The dignity of the martyr, his foretaste of heaven, and the pangs of suffering nature, are united, and fully expressed, in his countenance. The body is of great truth and beauty.

Peter and John with the lame man, at the gate of the temple, by Dominico Piola, is a fine picture. The lame man is excellent: but I do not think I discover all the grandeur and apostolic dignity of Peter, when, to the diseased man who is expecting an alms from him, he utters the words that precede the miracle: "Silver and gold have I none: but "such as I have give I thee. In the name of "Jesus Christ of Nazareth, rise up and walk."

We yesterday saw three palaces; each behind the other. The first, belonging to Marcellino Durazzo, in royal magnificence excels even the red palace of Brignole. In Genoa, you perceptibly feel that you are in the palaces of the creditors of the princes of Europe. In one of the first halls, we saw three large pictures, by Luca Giordano: one of Seneca dy-

ing, another of Olindo and Sophronia, and the third of Perſeus, with the head of Meduſa, turning Phineas into ſtone. They are full of genius. The ſecond repreſents Clorinda coming on horſeback, and the two lovers, who were both to have been burnt, being bound to the ſame ſtake, in the act of being ſet free. Where is the reader of Taſſo, who has forgotten this ſcene?

A Magdalen, waſhing the feet of Chriſt, when he was ſitting at the feaſt of the Phariſees, is by Paul Veroneſe. The picture is well preſerved, and very beautiful; though the two principal characters do not appear to me equal to ſome of the others. The owner of the palace has a copy of this picture; which is ſo like the original that no man could affirm it to be a copy.

Juno, transferring the eyes of Argus to the tail of the peacock, is by Rubens. The body of Argus, lying before the car, is excellently painted. The painter was very right, in taking care to conceal the bleeding part of the body: but the repreſentation of a female taking the head in her hand, and tearing out the eyes, is exceſſively diſagreeable: as likewiſe are the eyes which Juno holds in the palm of her

her hand, where they lie like colours on a pallet.

The whole haven, and beyond that the Mediterranean, are ſeen from a high and large balcony of this palace. The roofs of the houſes of Genoa are not flat, but are covered with ſlate a little elevated. The palaces have open large balconies, on which the poſſeſſors may enjoy the freſh air, ſurrounded by flowers and orange trees. After having been examining numerous pictures, the quick ſucceſſion of which is injurious to the pleaſure they give, you feel a deſire again to taſte undiſturbed the freſh air; and the proſpect of great nature, as ſhe is, revives the heart. Of her we were not eaſily wearied. We returned from the works of art, like a child from its doll to the arms and lap of a kind careſſing mother.

The palace of Marcello Durazzo is not ſo magnificent as that which I have before deſcribed, by the name of Marcellino: but it is no leſs rich in paintings. Of theſe I will mention only a few.

The Hiſtory of Achilles, in ſix pictures, by ſix different maſters, to me appears very cold. A man would imagine that theſe painters had read the argument of every book of the Iliad,

but not the Iliad itſelf. The grand image of the hero they have neither felt nor produced.

A Chriſt with the tribute money, by Guercino, in my opinion, may contend the garland of victory with that of Vandyke; which I ſaw the day before yeſterday. I own the Chriſt of Vandyke has the moſt power: yet that of Guercino is full of ſoul and dignity. It is one of the few heads of Chriſt which can ſatisfy the eye of a chriſtian; as far as it can be ſatisfied, by the efforts of the painter.

Three of the ſcribes are excellently contraſted with the dignified grandeur of the Saviour. One who looks him in the face, while he ſhews him the tribute money, wiſhes to aſſume the appearance of honeſty: but you viſibly read the cunning knave in his countenance. A little behind him ſtands another, with an artful malicious air; and a third lurks and leers from behind a pillar.

Samuel anointing David king, by I know not what maſter, if I miſtake not, is a very good picture. Aſtoniſhment and humility, but not terror, are expreſſed in the countenance of the ſhepherd youth: who is excellently repreſented, with a dark complexion, fine eyes, and a handſome figure.

Chriſt

Chriſt with the woman taken in adultery, by Giulio Ceſare Procaccino, is a noble painting; and in a great ſtyle.

Heraclitus and Democritus, by Spagnioletto, are two fine pieces, and full of character.

There is a weeping philoſopher, by the ſame maſter; perhaps another Heraclitus.

In the palace of Franceſco Balbi there are likewiſe many beautiful pictures.

A picture of Chriſt with his diſciples in the garden, by Michael Angelo Buonaroti, proves that men of the greateſt genius, of which claſs this painter undoubtedly was, ſuffer themſelves to be led away by the taſte of the times. Chriſt is here repreſented twice in the ſame piece, and both times in the foreground; once kneeling at prayer, and again haranguing the diſciples.

Maria with the little Jeſus, various men, women, and children, St. George with the banner, and an old man, is a compoſition by Rubens; in which he has introduced himſelf, his wife, his children, and his father. St. George is the character he has choſen for himſelf. He ſtands, full of vigour and ſatisfaction, with the banner; which ſeems to be beautifully waved by his muſcular arm. There

is another picture of the same subject, which is still more masterly, at Antwerp; and this is very probably a copy, by one of his scholars.

Joseph, interpreting the dream of the chief butler, is an excellent performance, by Capucino. We are in want however of the chief baker; who it is true, in the story, acts but a tragical part: however, for that very reason, it would be well contrasted with the chief butler.

Christ and the Samaritan woman, by Guercino.

I shall omit describing several churches which we have seen. The church of St. Stephen is not remarkable in itself, except that it possesses a great treasure in an altarpiece; which represents the stoning of St. Stephen, with the heavens open, and Jesus sitting on the right hand of God. The upper figures are by Julio Romano: those of Stephen and the stone slingers are by Raphael. Anger and rage are conspicuous in some of the latter. An old man is inflamed with zeal. The noble martyr, kneeling, a beautiful and youthful figure, fixes his enraptured eyes on heaven. Saul, not yet converted, kneels beside the garments of the executioners; looking likewise

toward heaven, but with an aſpect very different from that of Stephen. To the things which Stephen beheld young Saul was blind: however, we diſcover in his countenance great zeal for the truths he knew. We perceive in him the future apoſtle; which the painter well knew how to delineate. Oh Raphael! Raphael!

The great hoſpital has been built by the grandees of Genoa. Its marble pillars, its handſome ſtaircaſe and avenue, and the greatneſs of the whole, excite our admiration. The ſick, of every nation and of every faith, are here admitted; and the number of them, in winter, frequently amounts to ſixteen hundred.

This hoſpital is ornamented with about ſeventy ſtatues, of perſons who have given donations; and the kind of rank which theſe ſtatues maintain, among each other, is remarkable. Thoſe who have beſtowed fifty thouſand livres of Genoa have each a marble buſt; thoſe of a hundred thouſand have whole length ſtatues; and thoſe who have given a greater ſum are ſeated.

In the evening, we went to the playhouſe; where we ſaw Harlequin, Pantaloon, and Brighella,

heila, as the chief characters in the piece. Partly for want of being familiar with the Italian language, and partly becauſe of the different dialects, we miſſed underſtanding many things. However, we thought the entertainment ſhort. Germans pretend to diſdain Harlequin: but can they, if they wiſh for real humour, entirely ſuffer his abſence? I do not aſk what is poſſible to man; but what is poſſible to us. Among many buffooneries and not a little abſurdity, there ſtill was a true comic vein that ran through the piece. For my own part, I conſider the Italian comedians, generally ſpeaking, as poſſeſſed of more comic humour than our own. There is leſs to blame in them; though they are not blameleſs.

In the palace of Giacomo Balbi are likewiſe many noble pictures.

Luca Giordano has painted three, of a large ſize. One is the rape of the Sabines. This is a fine ſubject, and managed with great dignity, by the painter. The numerous paſſions here have free play; manly love, female anger, terror of a high degree, and determined courage, are well contraſted with each other.

Perſeus, with the head of Meduſa, is a ſecond; and Jezebel, torn by the dogs, a third,

by

by this maſter. Jehu reins in his horſes, and attentively regards the dreadful ſpectacle: dreadful, yet nobly handled, and without exciting diſguſt.

Vandyke, with that art which was peculiarly his own, has here likewiſe painted three children; with all the beauty, animation, and characteriſtics, of childhood.

A very fine Magdalen, by Guido, with a death's head in her hand. Deep felt ſorrow is moſt excellently expreſſed, in her beautiful countenance.

Two very noble large landſcapes, by Rubens. A fine choice of objects, rich, and grand, with the foregrounds excellently made out, ſo as to make them riſe from the canvas, with ſoftening ſhades, till we come to the moſt diſtant blue in which the horizon is loſt to the ſight, give theſe pictures a ſtrong appearance of nature.

A Holy Family, by the ſame maſter; from which the ſpectator cannot tear himſelf without great difficulty. Few pictures have afforded me equal pleaſure. The child Jeſus is extended in a cradle, careſſing John the Baptiſt. They are two beautiful boys. The dawn of heavenly grace is viſible, in the ecſtatic

mien

mien of the godlike child. John looks, with infantine aſtoniſhment, at Jeſus in the cradle. The virgin is ſitting; and, with tender emotion, employing both her hands to rock the cradle. Her beauty is not exquiſite; but her youthful countenance is very agreeable. The more you look at it, the more you are intereſted, by the expreſſion of purity of heart, devotion, and maternal delight. Joſeph, a venerable old man, ſtands behind, looking over her ſhoulder; his body humbly inclined, regarding the child Jeſus. Elizabeth kneels behind John; with the ſweeteſt expreſſion of devotion, and the nobleſt countenance of a handſome matron that can be imagined.

We have viſited the haven, where the gallies lie; beſide which there are ſhops, where the Turks, who are enſlaved, vend all kinds of wares: coffee, chocolate, ſugar, diſtilled waters, pipes, tobacco, ſlippers and ſtraw mats. They are ſuffered to go free in the haven; but muſt not walk through the city, except chained two and two, and under the guard of an overſeer. In this manner, they offer their wares to ſale in the city; and particularly red and yellow ſlippers. At night they are obliged to ſleep on board the gallies. Thoſe priſoners that have

have been condemned to the gallies for their crimes are much more rigorouſly treated than the Turks; who are juſtly conſidered only as priſoners of war. The latter therefore can only purchaſe their redemption. The others are ſentenced to the gallies for a certain number of years, equivalent to the greatneſs of their offence. None but great criminals remain fettered on board the gallies.

Six months in the year, the priſoners are at ſea. They are, beyond all compariſon, better treated than the galley ſlaves of the French. I ſpoke with ſeveral of them, and the only complaints I heard were of their cold ſtations, in winter nights, on board the gallies; and of their food. Their daily allowance is two pounds of bread, and three ounces of large beans.

During the ſix winter months, they are in harbour; and often have an opportunity of earning ſome trifle in the city. They are ſeldom, and but for a ſhort time, put to labour at public works. The Turks do not eaſily obtain their freedom: probably, becauſe they have no intercourſe with their relations; or that they want connections in Genoa. They purchaſe their own redemption with the money which

which they earn, during their impriſonment. Some of them have been priſoners from thirty to forty years; and theſe muſt either have been indolent, or ignorant of trade.

You may recollect how very much we both were moved, by the deſcription which is given, in Du Paty's Account of the condition of the poor impriſoned Turks, at Genoa. I have made ſtrict enquiries, both of a Swiſs, who has lived here five years, and of a merchant from Geneva, who has been fourteen years in this city. Both are men deſerving of credit; and the merchant was the friend of Du Paty, and bound to him by the ties of mutual hoſpitality: yet both declared that Du Paty's relation was wholly ungrounded. His friend alleged, in his defence, an overheated imagination; and an exceſs of ſenſibility; by which he had been miſled.

Thouſands bleſs the memory of Howard, the friend of the human race, who travelled over kingdoms and ſeas, viſited hoſpitals and priſons, and with noble fortitude oppoſed avarice and oppreſſion. He was indeed the benefactor of the wretched; numbers of whom, before his time, were treated either with ſhameful neglect or with the moſt hard hearted

hearted and pernicious avarice. Writers of travels do well who cenſure abuſes, after a careful examination: ſome of which abuſes, indeed, are ſo ſelf-evident that, to be proved, they require only to be ſeen. Numberleſs cuſtoms deſerve cenſure; but contempt is the lot of that traveller, who aſſumes the maſk of humanity, or philoſophy, to calumniate a nation.

Sick Turks are generally brought to the hoſpital, which is appointed for the reception of priſoners; where they are not treated as priſoners, but as perſons ſuffering under diſeaſe. I yeſterday ſaw one, in the great hoſpital.

I have no where ſeen ſuch a multitude of beggars, as in Genoa. What is moſt remarkable, they ſcarcely ever addreſs themſelves to the Genoeſe, but to ſtrangers only. The number of the lame and blind is uncommonly great. A foreigner is followed by beggars in every ſtreet; and he meets them again in the churches, and on the ſteps before the church. It is no uncommon thing to find in the church a beggar, all in rags, who will name you the maſter who painted each picture, point out the beſt place from which you may examine it, nay

nay frequently detail the ſubject of the painting, and relate its whole hiſtory.

A knowledge of the arts, to a certain extent, is here very common; and yet we find, among their moſt beautiful works, in the Italian churches, not only very indifferent but frequently very wretched ornaments, which are in a high degree unworthy of religion. I very lately ſaw, in a church, a beautiful figure of the virgin, by Guercino if I do not miſtake, disfigured by a tinſel crown with gold ſtars, as a decoration to her head; and a white ſun, of the ſame deſcription, which they had faſtened upon her boſom.

The Genoeſe ladies of diſtinction appear chiefly to employ themſelves in painting, and drawing. In three of the palaces that we viſited, we were ſhewn copies of the pictures; which had been made by the ladies to whom they belonged. We likewiſe ſeveral times ſaw, in their chambers, the works with which they amuſed themſelves, and the books they read: ſome French, and ſome Italian.

The government of Genoa is eſteemed to be mild. The people of the country pay very few taxes: particularly thoſe of *Riviera di Ponente*;

Ponente; where almoſt every village, at the time that the State ſhook off foreign oppreſſors, made its individual conditions with the city. Every foreigner who has been ten years an inhabitant of Genoa may be accepted as a citizen: the proteſtants themſelves are not excluded. With the Turks, and eſpecially with the people of the coaſt of Barbary, this State wages eternal war. The governors do not however riſk the gallies of the republic in the open ſea: neither have they taken any ſhip, or made any priſoners, for theſe two years.

More than a hundred priſoners, who had paid their own ranſom, were releaſed this month; and ſent home. A merchant of this city lately ranſomed about twenty Moors; to ſhew his gratitude to the emperor of Morocco, who had done him ſome favour.

LETTER XXXVI.

Pavia, 12th November 1791.

THE thermometer, on the ſixth, was twelve degrees above the freezing point; and on

on the 8th, as we left Genoa, the ſnow fell with a cutting wind; which we felt more ſenſibly than we ever remember to have felt cold in November. Changeableneſs of weather is attributed to Genoa. Hiſtory alſo ſhews how very unſettled the people were. The Ligurians were repreſented, by the antients, as a remarkably unſtable, rugged, and laborious, people.

On the noble high road, which leads to Campo Marone, the inconvenience of the bad weather was more ſupportable than at the Bochetta; where the wind from the mountains frequently blew with a cutting fleet, and made the road ſlippery; over which the ſlow-paced ſtaggering mule was obliged to go.

In the evening, we came to Voltaggio; which is ſeated on the northern declivity of the Bochetta. On the 9th, the air was cold: but the ſun ſhone very pleaſantly. We left Cavi, with its high mountain fortreſs, on the right, arrived at Novi about noon, and continued our journey through a fertile plain, which is in Sardinian Milan, till we came to Tortona; a conſiderable town, which once was a Roman colony, at which time it was called Dertona.

The

The day before yeſterday, after a cold night, we travelled on under a very clear ſky. Beſide us, on the right, the Apennines roſe; on the left, the diſtant chain of the Alps. We not only ſaw plates of ice in the morning, but even in the afternoon we met with ice in the deep ruts of the road; which had been injured conſiderably in October, by an overflowing of the Po.

This inundation had laid a part of fertile Lombardy under water; and had every where occaſioned conſiderable damage. I conſider this country, the extraordinary fertility of which is ſo juſtly celebrated, as very unhealthy. The many rivers by which it is watered, like a garden, often overflow their banks; and leave ſtagnant ditches. The induſtry of man endeavours to correct the miſtake of nature. When the waters begin to ſtagnate, they are drawn off from the rice fields; and, though vegetation is increaſed, the air is filled with inſalubrious vapours. This great plain is fatiguing to the eye, and in ſummer muſt be painful. It is planted indeed with numerous mulberry trees; but we look in vain for the ſhady foreſt. The large trees, which here and there occur, have but a melancholy ap

pearance; and only remind us of the foliage which nature is ſo prompt to beſtow. The leaves are given to their cattle; for which reaſon the branches are lopped to the very top, and nothing larger than twigs is ſuffered to ſprout in return. The mulberry trees are cut, as in our village paſtures, that they may be the more productive in foliage.

We were glad again to meet the charming Po; on the banks of which the poplar was permitted to grow uninjured. Having received many ſtreams during its courſe from Turin, it is here become of a very conſiderable breadth; and we paſſed it on a moveable bridge of boats. The beautiful ſetting ſun, and the poplars on the banks of the river, reminded us ſtrongly of the fable of Phaeton; who was precipitated from his chariot into this ſtream, and his weeping ſiſters were changed into poplars.

A quarter of a league before we came to this town, we made a trip over the canal of Ticinello; which was dug by order of Francis the Firſt of France, and which divides the Sardinian diſtrict of Milan from the Auſtrian. Before we came to Pavia, we likewiſe croſſed the great bridge over the clear and rapid Ticino;

cino; which was built by Galeazzo Viſconti, firſt Duke of Milan, who died in the year 1402. On the banks of this river, which is not far from the Po, and into which it empties itſelf, Hannibal gained a victory over the Romans, in a battle of the cavalry. It was at this battle that the great Scipio, who was then very young, ſaved the life of his father; by whom the Romans were commanded.

It was after the river Ticinus, now called Ticino, or Teſſino, that the Romans named this town Ticinum. It afterward took the name of Papia, before it was, as it now is, called Pavia. When it was the ſeat of the Lombard kings, it is probable that, in proportion to the times, it was a more conſiderable city than it is at preſent. The number of its inhabitants is computed at about thirty thouſand.

It is famous for its univerſity; which was founded by Charlemagne, renovated by Charles the Fourth, and about twenty years ago, under the government of the good Maria Thereſa and the inſpection of the meritorious Count of Firmian, placed in its preſent condition. The divines of this univerſity are famous for their rectitude, their zeal, and their talents;

but are not regarded favourably by the Papal chair, becauſe, like loyal and enlightened Catholics, they ground their doctrines more on the deciſions of the general councils than on the mandates of the Roman Pontiff. In ſome of the ſciences, as juriſprudence, philology, and philoſophy, the German univerſities may perhaps ſurpaſs this; but ſcarcely will equal its learning in medicine, natural hiſtory, aſtronomy, and experimental philoſophy. In favour of this aſſertion, I need but mention the names of the preſent learned profeſſors of Pavia: Spallanzani, Franke, Fontana, Volta, Scarpa, and others, who, though they have not obtained ſo great a name as theſe among foreigners, are yet celebrated, as excellent men, among their aſſociates.

Our countryman Franke, as worthy a man as he is an eminent phyſician, was our guide to the muſeum; which is rich in anatomical preparations and injections by Scarpa, who is the profeſſor of anatomy, and in various claſſes of natural hiſtory. Under a glaſs cover, which is removable, in the firſt chamber, there is a beautiful female figure, in wax, of the ſize of life. Surpriſed as we were, at the workmanſhip of the external parts, how much more

fearfully

fearfully were we aſtoniſhed, and how was our curioſity excited, when, after removing ſucceſſively the outward membranes of the body, which are in different diviſions, the entire internal ſtructure of a pregnant woman was exhibited! The muſeum is kept in the largeſt building of the univerſity; which likewiſe contains the hall of auditory. Near the auditory of our countryman, Franke, is a little hoſpital; in which are twenty beds, for the reception of patients ſelected from the great hoſpital: which latter receives three hundred of the ſick. Franke takes his pupils, the number of whom frequently amounts to a hundred and fifty, round with him, when he viſits theſe patients: while nature, whoſe interpreter he is ſo worthy of being, affords them inſtruction in the moſt expreſſive and indubitable manner.

Franke gives the hiſtory of each caſe to his pupils; one of whom is always choſen to attend each patient. Theſe diſcourſes are made in Latin; that the poor diſeaſed people may not be diſturbed. A particular ſtatement of the caſe of each perſon is written, by Franke, and entered in the regiſter. The patients that die are anatomiſed; and the whole faculty, as

well as the ſtudents, are ſummoned to be preſent, when the body is diſſected. The hiſtory of the diſſection is likewiſe entered in the regiſter: ſo that the judgment which Franke delivered upon the patient, while living, is ſubmitted after death to this public inſpection, and reviſion.

To him is committed the ſuperintendance of all the hoſpitals in the duchies of Milan and Mantua. It is the duty of the phyſicians to ſtate the caſes, and ſend them to him; and theſe caſes likewiſe ſerve for the inſtruction of the pupils. The hiſtory of the caſes of his hoſpital patients is to be publiſhed, with anatomical engravings.

The number of ſtudents amounts to about twelve hundred. There are ſix different colleges, in which ſtudents are inſtructed gratis: one of them was founded by the great Carlo Borromeo. The collegians are diſtinguiſhed by the colour of their robe, and by an embroidered ornament, which they wear upon the right ſhoulder. The revenue of the univerſity is annually four-and-twenty thouſand Dutch ducats; and it poſſeſſes a very fine botanical garden.

We have become acquainted with the Abbe

Bertola, who is known in Germany by his work on German literature, and his eulogium on Geſſner. He is an admirer of our country, has already made three journeys into Germany, and, as he deſigns to write his travels, he likewiſe means to make a fourth. He is a man of intereſting and friendly manners.

In one of the ſquares of this city, which is called the Little Square, there is an equeſtrian bronze ſtatue of Antoninus Pius. Statues in bronze, of the antients, are uncommon; but this does not need the caſual merit of being rare to make it remarkable.

The horſe is not ſo beautifully faultleſs as that of the coloſſal ſtatue of Frederic the Fifth, at Copenhagen: nor is his attitude ſo bold as that of Peter the Great, at Peterſburg: but it every moment gains upon the eye of the ſpectator. Full of impatience, he appears to neigh, and tear up the earth with his hoof—

Stare loco neſcit, micat auribus, et tremit artus,
Collectumque premens volvit ſub naribus ignem *.

Starting with a bound,
He turns the turf and ſhakes the ſolid ground:
Fire from his eyes, clouds from his noſtrils flow.
DRYDEN.

* Virgil's Georgics, III. 84, 85.

The induſtry of art, combined with talent, may give a general repreſentation of nature; and, by opening the noſtrils and ſwelling the veins of the neck, may denote the courage of the horſe: but true genius alone can produce a figure which in every part, from the erect and expreſſive ear to the firm hoof, can communicate life to the whole animal. We muſt remember that, in the time of Antoninus, the Greek ſculpture was on the decline. The horſe reſembles a fine, animated Turkiſh charger.

The attitude of the emperor is well imagined. In contraſt to the impatience of the horſe, he ſits full of tranquillity; and ſtretches out his right hand, with a gentle bend of the arm, as if appeaſing the riotous multitude: but his figure, taken as a whole, is cold, ſtiff, and inanimate.

In another ſquare, there is a large bronze ſtatue of Pope Pius the Fifth; which I think beautiful. If I do not miſtake, there is a copy of this ſtatue, in marble, in ſome public building: but this latter I have not ſeen.

The proſpects on both ſides of the bridge, toward the Ticino, are very charming. On one ſide, we ſee the diſtant Alps, with the

banks of the rivers decorated with lovely poplars; and a ſmall iſland ſhaded with lofty trees.

On the oppoſite ſide, the clear ſtream loſes itſelf between poplars that cover its banks.

The land is low, and in many places eighty feet under the *Laco Maggiore* *. The art of watering the lands, by the aid of rivers and canals, is more eaſily effected here than in other places. This art has attained great excellence, in theſe parts; and communicates to the earth, which in many places, and even in the famous diſtrict of Lodi, abounds in ſand, its great fertility. The graſs in this country is five times mowed each ſeaſon. The late King of Pruſſia uſed to compare all Lombardy to an artichoke; from which every one has long been willing to take a leaf. The duchy of Milan may very well be compared to the heart of the artichoke; and the neighbouring princes have moſt of them contemplated this country with a longing eye.

I have become acquainted with the Chevalier Volta: famous for his experiments in electricity; and likewiſe with the great Spallanzani.

* The chief Lake.

The

The latter is a friendly, animated man; whoſe moral virtues are as excellent as his ſcientific acquirements. You are not ignorant that he is one of the greateſt men of the age, in philoſophical diſcoveries.

Although the weather is cold, and the thermometer is five degrees below the freezing point, yet ſeveral of the trees are tolerably leafy and green. We muſt not conclude, from the early cold, that it will be a ſevere winter. In the winter of 1788, Reaumur's thermometer only fell ten degrees below the freezing point. You freeze here in the chambers, becauſe you are unprotected from the cold. The Italians endure much more cold, in their chambers, than we do; and the ſame is ſaid of the Spaniards. I am told that our Empreſs, when ſhe went laſt year from Florence to Vienna, not only rejected the uſe of ſtoves but of fires altogether: and I was acquainted with a chaplain to the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, in Copenhagen, who kept no fires. Every morning when he roſe, he drank ſome glaſſes of water, icy cold; then wrapped himſelf up in his thick mantle, and ſat down to his deſk to read, or write.

Here is a very antient church, which is conſecrated

conſecrated to the Archangel Michael, of as rude a kind of architecture as any I have ſeen, and in which the kings of Lombardy were uſually crowned. It is ornamented on the outſide, or rather disfigured, by images cut in ſtone. Among the beaſts and monſters of a bewildered or rather of a wretched imagination, we ſaw an angel quarrelling with a devil, about a heart.

The air, which is not healthy throughout Milan, is particularly unhealthy in Pavia; and eſpecially in ſummer. Young Germans, who come here to ſtudy the ſcience of medicine, or of natural hiſtory, may avoid the exceſſive heats; for the lectures begin in November, and end in June. I readily grant this regulation prolongs the courſe of ſtudies from four to five years; but, to young men who know how to employ their time in the purſuits of ſcience, this vacation might be very profitably employed.

END OF VOL. I.